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General
Mahr

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

1934-1935

A new school year has begun. We trust that the auspices are everywhere favorable and all omens happy. We wish for all teachers and students to whom the CLASSICAL JOURNAL goes, and for all others as well, a prosperous and successful new year.

For the JOURNAL, if it is to have a successful and prosperous year, its friends must rally to its support and send in to the Secretary-Treasurer as many subscribers, new and old, as can possibly be secured. Because of financial stringency it has been found necessary to reduce the size of the JOURNAL from eighty to sixty-four pages—back to what it was just ten years ago. The desired size will be restored when the subscription list admits. We hope that all friends of the JOURNAL will make every effort to increase it.

XAIPETE NIKOMEN

In these latter days many Jeremiads have been uttered, deploring the falling off of Latin in our high schools. We need not close our eyes to the fact that the numbers in the Latin classes have not increased in proportion to the increase in the total high-school attendance and that the percentage of early mortality has not decreased; and yet we have no reason to lose hope or to lower our ideals or our standards in order to swell the enrollment in Latin in the high schools. A recent report from Harold G. Thompson, Supervisor of Examinations in the Ancient Languages for the New York State Education Department, states that there are

some 130,000 pupils studying Latin in the public and private secondary schools of that state and that each year shows an increase. That number represents quite a host. And many other states would probably show a similar ratio to the entire student population. What is more and better, the results of our Latin teaching are increasingly encouraging. The Regents examinations of New York are not notorious for being snaps. And yet Mr. Thompson reports that the students taking these examinations are generally successful in passing them. The lowest percentage of those passing is about 80 per cent for the first two years of Latin, about 90 per cent for three years, and above 95 per cent for four years. In New York the Latin people are convinced that "Latin is worth teaching, that it must be really Latin that is taught, and that it is worth teaching well."

A part of Mr. Thompson's "Letter to Latin Teachers," accompanying his report, will, we feel confident, be interesting and helpful to the teachers that read the CLASSICAL JOURNAL:

"Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes.

"Just as there was some truth in the rumor about Dido which spread like wildfire through the cities of northern Africa, so there is some foundation for the statement that certain teachers of the classics need humanizing. Such teachers are often too neglectful of the human interest and appeal that should accompany the teaching of Latin and Greek to justify calling these subjects the 'humanities.' These teachers emphasize the form and not the substance, the letter and not the spirit, the means and not the end.

"The humanities are the literary treasure house of the great thinkers and writers of the ages. It is the teacher's task to interpret these and to relate them to the pupil's interests, experiences, and needs—to enable him to appreciate them, to form his attitudes in their light, to create in him a philosophy of life and conduct from the examples in the great literature of the past.

"True it is that students of elementary Latin must master the fundamentals of vocabulary, forms, and syntax. These are 'first things,' and 'first things' must be taught first and absolutely mastered. This more formal procedure, as opposed to the slower

and more natural 'functional' method, which is particularly adapted to modern foreign languages, is imposed by the present time limit of four years for the usual Latin course. Without mastery of these fundamentals there can be no effective reading of classical Latin (proponents of so-called extensive reading to the contrary, notwithstanding). Without reading there can be no real knowledge of Latin. Without knowledge of Latin itself there can be no humanizing of Latin. As soon, however, as the pupil begins to read with some ease, there is a constantly increasing opportunity for the humanizing touch of the master teacher. As the pupil acquires 'feeling' for the language, his vocabulary, forms, and syntax are merged into a unified reading whole. The parts are forgotten but they are there, an unseen foundation sturdily supporting the edifice of the Latin language.

"Like Ulysses, the teacher of Latin must pass between Scylla and Charybdis. The master teacher, like the master mariner, avoids the dangers that beset him on either side and voyages safely on to the long-sought haven. Fundamentals are mastered, as they must be, but they are recognized as means and not ends in themselves. Just as the wandering hero landed frequently for food and water and in the course of these little shore excursions learned much of strange places and peoples and customs, so the master teacher gives some 'shore leave' every day to appeal to the children's interests and to widen their horizons whenever something new, worth while, and interesting is encountered. However, the goal of the journey is never out of mind. 'Shore leaves' may consist of interesting derivation or the comparison of words in our own and other languages. Another day it may be mythology or a comparison of manners, customs, social or economic conditions. Again it may involve a comparison of implements in daily use then and now or the advancements in the field of science.

"When all is said and done, it simply means that the master teacher, as always, is alert to every opportunity to inspire and interest and inform the pupils by drawing on a great store of general culture, broad interests, and wide reading. To be a master teacher one must know and love one's subject, know and love children; be alert, imaginative, and enthusiastic. Under such a

teacher the daily lesson is an interesting adventure, and not just a task to be done. . . . Latin is not 'dead' to a live teacher. *Vigilate.*"

THE NEW COVER

To mark the opening of Volume xxx we have adopted the new, tan cover in which Number 1 greets you. We hope that you will like it and approve the change. If you do not, nothing will be easier than a return to the old form.

Objections on various grounds have been entered against the olive green paper arrayed in which the CLASSICAL JOURNAL has appeared since the beginning of its history: "It does not," says one, "afford a clear background for the printing upon it." "It is not attractive," says another. "Worst of all, when exposed for a time to the light, it fades to a dirty brown or a dingy yellow." So we are making the change; and again we say, we hope you will like the new cover.

ROMAN REMAINS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

By H. V. CANTER
University of Illinois

When history first sheds a clear light upon what is now the fair land of France, it was held by rude Gallic tribes. In time along the rocky shores and sunny lowlands of its southern stretches, far up the Rhone valley, and still later over the entire land the Romans wandered, conquered, and settled, to civilize and to mingle with the natives for some five hundred years, to influence profoundly their language and arts, and to leave behind splendid monuments whose slowly crumbling remains we still admire and study today. Probably few students of Roman antiquities, if they have never lingered about the winding course of the lower Rhone, have any idea of the number and magnificence of these monuments which the great conquering and civilizing nation of antiquity bequeathed to later ages or of how much they may teach us. If we except Rome and its immediate vicinity, even Italy itself does not present a group of monuments equal to those found at Orange, Nîmes, Saint-Rémy, and Arles, while there are others of lesser importance¹

¹ Only brief mention can here be made of antiquities that exist in several places. At Vaison, northeast of Orange and once a flourishing town, are an amphitheatre and a bridge. Carpentras, a few miles southeast of Orange, preserves an arch of one opening, without frieze or attic, on the sides of which are reliefs with trophies and captives. A badly mutilated, four-faced arch, probably moved from its original position, is found at Cavaillon, some miles southeast of Avignon. Fréjus (Forum Iulii), birthplace of the Roman general Agricola, an important naval station at various times but now nearly a mile from the sea and with harbor filled up, well repays a visit. It possesses an amphitheatre, an arch that formed one of the four city gates, and, as chief of its relics, an aqueduct that is traceable for miles, with some of its arches still entire. Near Nice, at Cimiez, probably once a popular resort because of its mild winter climate, are a fairly well preserved amphitheatre and other remains that seem to belong to baths and to a temple. Finally, at La Tourbie in the high Alps, on the frontier between Italy and the Gauls (cf. *Alpes summæ: usque huc Italia hinc Galliae* of the *Antonine Itinerary*), is the *Tropaeum Augusti*, a ruined trophy erected in 6 B.C. to commemorate the submission

at Lyons, Vienne, Vaison, Fréjus, and elsewhere. True is the remark of Alexandre Dumas that southern France is so beautiful, so extensive, and so Roman that Rome appears less large and less beautiful to him who has seen the south of France.²

Let one ramble for a fortnight, as did the present writer, along the Rhone from Lyons to Marseilles, thence eastward in Provence, and he will surely catch something of the spirit of a sentimental visitor of nearly a century ago.³

Gentle reader! art thou a lover of the beauties of Nature? Does admiration of the Arts lead thee to delight in tracing their origin, their progress to perfection, and their *décadence*, in those splendid monuments of antiquity which the Romans have left scattered here and there over the face of the Old World as landmarks of their prowess and their glory? . . . Then I would say to thee, Take up thy pilgrim's staff and don thy sandal shoon, and follow the windings of the rushing Rhone from Lyons to Arles, pausing on thy way before many a shrine worthy the devotion of a classic mind. There shalt thou read the history of the land chronicled in its mutilated relics. There stand the stately amphitheatres of the first conquerors, the Romans, still bearing traces of the barbarian devastations which impotently strove, four centuries later, to raze them from the face of the earth. . . . Say, in the pages of what Historian couldst thou find the vicissitudes of the Past traced with the same magnificent eloquence as in those silent stones?

But for an adequate appreciation of the origin and development of Roman civilization in southern Gaul one must go back to Rome's entrance into that territory, must recall how it was won and held, and must also consider why Roman culture there enjoyed such vigorous and extensive growth. Students usually know the general course and results of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul, but of Roman rule there prior to those great wars of which they read and of just what was comprehended in Caesar's Transalpine province they ordinarily have no clear or definite idea.

In the Gracchan period Massilia (Marseilles), united to Rome by ties of friendship since the Second Punic War, appealed to the

to Augustus of forty-six Alpine tribes. Once it was adorned with rich sculptures, lost in the Middle Ages when it was used as a fortress.

² *Impressions de Voyage*: Paris, Lévy Frères (1887), I, 143.

³ Isabella Frances Romer, *The Rhone, the Darro, and the Guadalquivir*: London, Richard Bentley (1843), I, 34-36.

Romans against the Ligurian tribe of the Salluvii. The latter were defeated, and Rome thus gained command of the route across the Maritime Alps from Italy into Gaul. To guard this passage, the proconsul Gaius Sextius Calvinus in 122 B.C. established a fortress at Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence, eighteen miles north of Marseilles), famous for its springs and destined to become more celebrated because near the scene of Marius' defeat of the Teutones in 102. Soon after came Rome's next advance, which secured the land route to Spain. Two Gallic tribes (the Allobroges east of the Rhone and the Averni west of it) who tried to block this plan were decisively defeated in 121. Now master of all southern Gaul except Massilia, Rome organized this territory as a province in 118 by founding her earliest transmarine citizen colony at Narbo (Narbonne, southwest of Marseilles). The purpose of this move was partly to protect the Via Domitia, extending from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, and partly to open up trade in this new territory, for which merchants and capitalists had long been impatient.⁴ With the establishment of this first province in Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis) a new chapter began in Roman expansion, not to be checked, once it had passed beyond the Alps, until it developed into that great composite of provinces which within the next one hundred and fifty years Rome created in central Europe.

In 58, when Caesar entered upon his great command, Gallia Narbonensis embraced the coast districts from the Alps to the borders of Spain and the land between the Alps and the Rhone as far north as Lake Geneva. This territory was popularly called "Provincia," although the modern term Provence is usually limited to the extreme southeast portion. After Augustus' dual system of provincial administration was established, Narbonese Gaul was transferred in 23 to the control of the Roman senate, since great progress in assimilating the language, habits, and ideas of its conquerors had made it more like a part of Italy than a province. The rapid Romanization of this part of Gaul, which enjoyed peace

⁴ That Narbo was not a mere fort in the enemy's territory but a real colony of Roman citizens strategically placed is evident (aside from the fact that it became a station of the Roman fleet and a rival of Massilia for inland trade) from Cicero, *Pro. Font.* 5, 13: *Narbo Martius, colonia nostrorum civium, specula populi Romani ac propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et obiectum.*

until the barbarian invasions, was doubtless due to a number of causes—the natural beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, its mild climate, with a bountiful share of sunshine and blue sky, and its commercial importance. But a more far-reaching influence in introducing Roman arms and civilization into Gaul and northern Europe was the great river Rhone and its valley. Few roads were more serviceable to the Romans than those leading from some point in Italy to some point in the Rhone valley; and of these there were no fewer than five. Beyond Arles, the junction of two great roads (one from Italy, one from Spain), the great northern route followed the east bank of the Rhone, finally branching at Châlons into four ways, one of which led to Brittany, one to Paris and the ports to Britain, another into Germany, and still another to the ports of the German ocean. The Rhone with its tributary, the Saône, was one of the great waterways of the ancient world,⁵ the chief trade route from the Mediterranean to the centre of Gaul. The cities along its banks were so many ports of call for the daring navigators of old—for the Phoenicians, who followed the seas westward from Tyre and Sidon, for the Greeks from Phocaea, who founded Massilia, and later also for the Roman conquerors of Gaul.

Sed illuc redeamus unde abiimus. It is the purpose of this paper, following a visit made by the writer to the several sites, to discuss as briefly as possible surviving Roman remains in southern France, monuments which have left abundant evidence of an extensive and brilliant civilization that added a kind of sunset splendor to Rome's empire in the west. From them one understands better the ability of Rome to establish and maintain the links that held together her vast and long continuing power; how the Romans fortified, embellished, and administered a conquered territory; how greatly

⁵ This applies particularly to the stretch from Lyons to the sea (about 230 miles), where the Rhone is broad, although swift of current owing to the volume and nature of the stream in its upper reaches. From its source to Lyons (some 270 miles) the Rhone lowers its level a full mile and is for the most part a swift mountain torrent, limpid and blue; hence the striking words applied to it by Byron, "By the blue rushing of the arrowy Rhone" (*Childe Harold*, canto III, stanza lxxi). For the importance of the Rhone-Saône river as a main trunk-line waterway, see also George H. Allen, "A Problem of Inland Navigation in Roman Gaul," *Class. Weekly* XXVII (1933), 65 f.

they prized a bountiful supply of pure water and luxurious baths; and how lavishly they provided for recreation and amusements. Evident also from the remains are the strength and dignity of Roman character as manifested in the ceremony of worship, in the pleasures and labors of peace, in the pursuit of war, and in the recognition paid to valiant deeds. Thus quietly viewing the handiwork of Rome and reflecting upon her achievements one can scarcely fail to sense the oneness and coherence that through the centuries bind successive generations of men. For as one stands before these ancient monuments, mutilated and silent though they be, they yet speak a language that all can understand. Fittingly placed near the ancient theatre at Orange is a lovely group of statuary representing Ancient Civilization, beautiful still but about to yield to her last long sleep and transmitting with failing hand the light of Truth and Beauty to Modern Civilization.

Lyons (Lugdunum), situated at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône, is of more interest than merely as the third city of France and the centre of its silk industry. It assumed importance in 43 B.C., when Augustus made it a provincial capital. From Lyons main roads diverged into all parts of Gaul; here the Roman governors had a mint for the coining of gold and silver; and here were born the emperors Claudius, Caracalla, and Geta. Doubtless the place was well supplied with camps, baths, aqueducts, forums, theatres, and temples; but unbroken occupation, repeated invasions, and the reëmployment of ancient materials have left few remains. The Roman town occupied a hill rising from the left bank of the Saône. Fourvière, the present name of the hill, is probably a corruption of *Forum Vetus*, for the ancient forum was a work of Trajan. Near-by are some fragments of an aqueduct built by Augustus about 20 B.C., a colossal structure which brought water some fifty miles from the Cévennes mountains. Very considerable remains of it, seventy-six broad arches with a stretch of the canal-conductor, are lying near Chaponost, twelve miles from Lyons. At the extremity of the peninsula where the two rivers meet stood the temple and famous *Ara Augusti*, raised by sixty Gallic tribes in honor of Augustus. Splendid mosaics from the temple, representing mythological and Roman scenes, are preserved in the local archae-

ological museum. This museum, housing antiquities found in and near Lyons, has an excellent collection of inscriptions illustrating the institutions and public worship of Lyons in the Gallo-Roman period. Noteworthy is the bronze tablet, found in 1528, containing a considerable part of the statesmanlike speech of the Emperor Claudius, favoring the admission of the Gauls to public office.*

Continuing twenty miles south we come, at the junction of the Rhone and the Gère, to Vienne, the *Vienna Allobrogum* of the Romans. In Roman times it was a flourishing place—indeed, for a time a rival of Lyons. The ancient town was set upon a hill ascending from the Gère, on whose banks one still traces the massive walls that enclosed the place. Upon this eminence excavation has revealed the ancient citadel and remains of a large amphitheatre; this latter was used for ages as a quarry for the modern city. Four aqueducts (one still in use) provided water; their course runs nearly parallel on the side of the hill; and the highest one probably supplied the amphitheatre when a *naumachia* was exhibited. Existing also are some moldering arcades (one bears the name of the Emperor Gratian), which are locally referred to as triumphal arches but which more probably formed the entrance to great public baths. In the south of the city is a structure, in local legend named "Pilate's Tomb," for which it would probably be impossible to find an exact parallel. It is a four-faced arch of simple decoration, with unvaulted passageways and flat roof and surmounted by a pyramid nearly fifty feet high. But the main object of interest at Vienne, a monument of the first class, is the temple to Augustus and Livia built under the Emperor Claudius. It is a graceful building of Corinthian order resembling the temple to Augustus and Roma at Pola and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes but less well preserved than either; for it was converted into a church in the Middle Ages, when its intercolumnar spaces were walled up and doors and windows were inserted.

About halfway between Vienne and Marseilles, a short distance from the Rhone and pleasantly situated amid meadows, orchards, and mulberry plantations, is the ancient Arausio, where in 105 B.C. Roman arms met disastrous defeat at the hands of the Cimbri

* Cf. Tac., *Ann.* xi, 24.

and Teutones. After Julius Caesar's time it became a Roman colony and continued prosperous until its ramparts and fine structures were partly destroyed by the Alamanni and Visigoths. Later and long continued use of these structures to provide materials for new buildings deprived the town of its ancient splendor, and it has come down to modern times as the quiet country town of Orange. Even so it has saved two of the most imposing and best preserved monuments from Roman times, a triumphal arch and a theatre. Scanty remains also of a large circus are still to be seen, but every visible trace of the baths once near by the circus has disappeared.

In solitary grandeur, just where the road from Lyons enters Orange, stands the arch, one of the most elaborately ornamented arches in existence and surpassed in size and importance only by those of Septimius Severus and Constantine in Rome. It is composed of three arches (the central larger than the others and all with fine coffered vaulting) supported by twelve Corinthian columns and is well preserved except on its north side. The sculptures show elegance, vigor, and great variety, presenting battle scenes, flags, shields, weapons of all sorts, and captive barbarians grouped together in "most admired disorder," the whole providing a picturesque and dramatic effect.⁷ But after much study, conjecture, and discussion opinions still differ as to its age and purpose. Native tradition connects it with Marius (due to the fame of his victory in Provence), while some believe it was erected in honor of Marcus Aurelius' victories in Germany. The bronze letters of the inscription to Tiberius (once seen on the north side) were seemingly affixed after the monument was completed; hence it may go back to the reign of Augustus. But relying on the appearance of Tiberius' name, as also on that of Sacrovir (inscribed on one of the shields), most investigators conclude that the arch was raised

⁷ The ancient triumphal arch to commemorate victories was a purely Roman institution; see the study of C. Densmore Curtis, "Roman Monumental Arches," *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies* II (1908), 26-83, who discusses seventy-nine such monuments (forty-six of which bear inscriptions), in a few cases including city gates which have the form and decoration of monumental arches. The popularity of the triumphal arch is attested not only by their number but by their wide distribution. This form of decoration has, of course, survived to the present, some notable examples being found in London, Paris, Marseilles, Munich, Leningrad, and New York.

in honor of Tiberius to commemorate the defeat of this chieftain of the Aedui in A.D. 21. However that may be, and despite its rude use as a mediaeval fortress and its parts crumbling under centuries of wind and rain, there it stands today, a golden brown in the flooding sunshine of old Provence, a majestic thing that speaks silently yet eloquently of imperial ambition, power, and triumph, of struggle, defeat, and suffering in far-off Roman days.⁸

The huge theatre, wholly Roman in character and probably dating from the second century of our era, is one of the best preserved of all such ancient structures. At the foot of a hill and facing the town stands a gigantic wall (334 feet long, 110 feet high, and 13 feet thick) which forms the back of the proscenium. It so overtops and dominates the town that it is not surprising that Louis XIV pronounced it the finest wall in his entire kingdom. This colossal façade, whose sole ornamentations are rows of blind arcades, has a nobility of appearance in full keeping with its size. The theatre, with the unusual feature of a roofed stage, was richly ornamented with statues, columns, and fine, colored marbles, coming, as the fragments show, from nearly all the Mediterranean countries. Much of this embellishment disappeared in the seventeenth century when the Princes of Orange attached the theatre to their castle situated on the hill above and used it as a fortress. After Louis XIV ordered the demolition of the combined structure, there grew up in the interior of the theatre a wretched collection of houses and stables, which was not cleared away until the beginning of the last century.

From Tarascon an eastward course of nine miles through vineyards and pasture lands brings one to Saint-Rémy, situated in a valley of olive groves at the foot of the Little Alps. One mile south, in what was the district of the Salluvii, are the relics of Glanum Livii, destroyed by the Visigoths in 480. The visitor to this ancient

⁸ Cf. Katharine Stanley-Brown in *Art and Archaeology* xxvii (1929), 87 and 96: "The arch stands triumphant in its wide circle of dark green poplar trees. How many feet have trod the dusty roads leading to it, then passed beneath its stones! Thousands of Roman legionaries marching northward to defend the frontiers of the Rhine, perhaps even to conquer Britain! Beneath it, too, have passed the long lines of captives, tortured in mind and heart, blue-eyed, fair-haired Northerners, driven southwards to the slave-markets of Rome."

spot is well repaid for the detour by finding two imposing monuments of the early imperial period, as gray as the hills that form their background. Both are sculptured with exquisite skill. One relic, considerably mutilated, is a graceful though simple arch of one opening, with sculptured coffered vaulting. The lower part has four columns on each front, and on the façades are reliefs which in each case embody the huge figures of two captives, male and female, chained to a trophy. Why the Visigoths allowed an arch to stand which represents their forbears as captives in chains is not easy to explain. Close by is a better preserved and singularly beautiful structure of three stories, in form a Janus arch raised on a pedestal higher than usual; it is called the "Tomb of the Julii." The name of the Julian family inscribed on the architrave doubtless goes back to a Gallic ancestor who assumed the name of his Roman patron.

Crossing the Rhone at Tarascon and proceeding westward some twenty miles the traveler reaches Nîmes, pleasantly situated at the south end of foothills reaching to the Cévennes, on the ancient Via Domitia leading from Arles through Narbo into Spain. The central part of the city is encircled by boulevards built on the site of the ancient fortifications, within which are most of the Roman remains. Nîmes contains more Roman ruins than any other city in France, and these among the most perfect found north of the Alps. The birthplace of Domitius Afer, teacher of Quintilian, and of the father of Antoninus Pius (whose statue graces one of the main squares), Nîmes is also the natal place of many distinguished Frenchmen, among them Alphonse Daudet, the historian Guizot, and the late classical scholar Gaston Boissier.

Nîmes (Nemausus) is named for its ancient but still flowing spring, sacred to the Celtic tribe who surrendered to Rome about 121 B.C. Made a colony by Augustus, the city erected a beautiful temple in his honor. Agrippa, the emperor's able minister, probably built the public baths and the celebrated aqueduct which supplied Nîmes. The city walls, high, broad, and nearly four miles in circuit, were flanked by ninety towers and pierced by ten gates, one of which (*Porta Augusti*) survives in part. It records the eleventh and twelfth consulships of Augustus and states that he

gave gates and walls to the colony. The numerous public buildings at Nîmes—we hear also of a theatre, a basilica, and a circus—indicate that it was one of the richest of Roman cities in Gaul. Probably the natural beauty of the place caused the Romans to take the lead in its embellishment, especially in the early Christian era and in the time of Antoninus Pius, when the great amphitheatre was erected. While still rich and flourishing, Nîmes was ravaged successively by the Vandals, the Visigoths, and the Saracens. These last used the amphitheatre as a stronghold until driven out by Charles Martel in 755, when the noble building was almost destroyed by fire.

Standing yet today and doubtless the object of greatest attraction for most visitors to Nîmes is this amphitheatre, elliptical in form and, true to its type, an imposing structure embodying the massive strength and durability of Roman handiwork. It is constructed of huge gray stones adjusted without mortar, as were all Roman stone buildings of great size. Although accommodating nearly 20,000 spectators, it is much smaller than the Colosseum, smaller even than the amphitheatre at Arles; but owing to repeated and extensive restorations it is much better preserved than either. It has two stories, each with sixty round arches. The lower story has buttress-like Doric columns, while the upper has engaged Corinthian columns and an attic story with corbels pierced with holes; into these were inserted the masts that held the awning. The amphitheatre's later history follows pretty much that of like structures elsewhere.⁹ It was used as a fortress in the dark ages, then in part as a church, and later occupied by the lowest classes, sheltered between the arches and in vile hovels; from this misuse it was not freed until the early nineteenth century.

The gem of Nîmes is the world-famous *Maison Carrée*, portrayed times innumerable by the painter's canvas and the designer's

⁹ The amphitheatre was a characteristically Roman institution whose great spectacles ministered to the enjoyment of the Roman world for some seven hundred years. Such buildings were found in almost every imperial town from Asia Minor to Spain and from the British Isles to the edge of the Sahara desert. Considerably more than a hundred are known, the greater part in Italy. For a brief discussion (by the present writer) of their origin, distribution, use, and subsequent history, see *Latin Notes Supplement*, No. 49 (Feb., 1931): New York, Service Bureau for Classical Teachers.

sketch. This little temple, so perfect in symmetry and grace, Louis XIV wished to transport to Versailles. Thomas Jefferson, as is well known, chose it as a model for the state capitol of Virginia. Facts of measurement and analysis avail nothing to make more apparent the beauty of this example of early imperial art and workmanship, the most exquisite and best preserved of Roman temples. A metal inscription once on the pediment showed that it was dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the adopted sons of Agrippa. It was, therefore, probably built not far from the turn to the Christian era. Around it today lie fragments of the huge pediment of a basilica, which, like the temple itself, stood in a once extensive forum, whose limits were bounded by a colonnade. Since Roman times the Maison Carrée has experienced vicissitudes of fortune, both honorable and degrading. Successively a civic hall, a warehouse, a stable, a chapel of the Augustine friars, it now serves as a museum, containing Roman objects found in or near the city—sculptures, capitals, vases, lamps, arms, and ornaments of various kinds.

The northern part of the city contains a charming little park, known as the "Fountain Garden." It lies at the foot of a forest-mantled hill, upon which there is a massive tower, probably a portion of the great Roman walls. Near the bottom of this hill flows the celebrated sacred spring that supplied the baths built by Agrippa. A part at least of this establishment was discovered in the eighteenth century well below the present level—a square reservoir surrounded by Doric columns. Not far away is the so-called Temple of Diana, a small hall with massive walls almost entire and still supporting one-third of its round arched ceiling. There is little doubt, despite the name, that this is a later temple and that it stands on the site of an older one dedicated to the goddess of the near-by fountain. When her worship died out in late Roman times, the building was occupied by an order of nuns for six hundred years. Later it became a fortress, a use that doubtless contributed to its ruin.

Familiar sights to visitors in Spain, France, North Africa, and especially Italy are arches of aqueducts (generally in ruins) used in Roman times to bring water to the cities. Among all such

monuments that survive there is none more imposing, none quite so famous as the Pont du Gard, the most colossal Roman monument in France. This is a bridge, as the name indicates, which carried an aqueduct across the Gardon river, some eight miles northeast of Nîmes. It, too, has been the subject of many a picture and engraving. The structure's massive masonry of three tiers of arches, its great length (over 800 feet), and its towering height inspire profound respect for the genius of its builders. The architect, about whom nothing is known, adapted it to the river's ordinary channel as also to its wider one when in flood. This explains why the arches are of different widths and why the widest is not in the middle. As few Roman works rival the Pont du Gard in grandeur, so none surpass it in picturesqueness, situated as it is in a valley enclosed by shrub-covered hills, where the blue-green river flows between gray cliffs and under arches tinted orange and yellow by centuries of hot sunshine and deeply furrowed by water trickling down their surface.

Twenty-eight miles from the sea the broad Rhone divides into two main branches, the larger, on which Arles is situated, running southeast, the smaller southwest. The origin of ancient Arelate (Arelaton, Arelas) is unknown, but as a maritime town it early became a rival of Massilia and was already an important place in the time of Caesar, who had twelve ships built here in thirty days for his siege of Massilia.¹⁰ After Massilia's commerce was thus ruined, Arles became the most prosperous city in Gallia Narbonensis. Later it was embellished with splendid buildings, became wealthy, and reached a status of first importance; and this, despite barbarian invasions, it long maintained.

Arles still retains part of its ramparts, skirted by pleasant boulevards; but in the interior the streets are narrow and tortuous, just where we come upon the surviving ancient monuments. The amphitheatre, begun in the reign of Claudius and outside of Italy unrivaled in size and splendor save by two, is probably one of the oldest extant. It is of the same grand type as the one at Nîmes, although much more damaged and dismantled, and its history since Roman times has been strikingly the same. Lying near is the

¹⁰ Caes., *B.C.* i, 36.

theatre, probably begun in the time of Augustus. Although the structure is a wreck, its plan is still apparent—the usual Roman form, showing, however, strong Greek influence, especially in the large orchestra. Back of the stage was a series of some fifty columns, of which two of African and Carrara marble are standing—a pathetic relic of the theatre's costliness and beauty. This building's destruction began in the fifth century, when its fine gray stone was used in the construction of churches. It must have been richly adorned, if we may judge from the numerous works of art found here, notably the "Venus of Arles." This graceful statue, which shows the subtle influence of Greek art, was discovered in 1651 and presented to the Grand Monarch, who placed it among his treasures at Versailles; from there it was removed during the last century to the Louvre, its present home.

Near the centre of Arles stands an obelisk of Egyptian granite, originally a part of the Roman circus at the southwest extremity of the city. On one side of the same square and erected on the ruins of the Roman praetorium is the venerable cathedral of Saint Trophimus, built in honor, tradition says, of Saint Paul's disciple of this name, who introduced Christianity at Arles. Opposite the cathedral is the archaeological museum, in which are assembled many beautiful fragments of statues, busts, and heads found in Arles. The museum is particularly rich in ancient and early Christian sarcophagi ornamented with sculptures of mythological and biblical subjects. Most of these tombs, whose inscriptions constitute a brief but interesting biography of the early inhabitants of Arles, came from the near-by Alyscamps (*Elysii campi*). This was a Roman cemetery, later but at an unknown date consecrated for Christian burial. During the period of decline its monuments were destroyed or scattered and the ground turned back to cultivation. The more massive sarcophagi, except those removed to the cathedral and the museum, have been assembled with weird effect along a walk called the *Allée des Tombeaux*.

West of the museum and squeezed in, as it were, between modern buildings is the once splendid Roman forum, from which there survive only two ancient columns with pieces of an entablature. Advancing still further toward the Rhone we stand before

what was once the palatial residence of the first Christian emperor, shut in by humble buildings of all kinds but open to the river view, as it naturally was in ancient times. Doubtless in it resided the prefect of the Gauls, when about the year 400 his seat of administration was transferred from Trèves on the Moselle to Arles on the Rhone, and it continued to be occupied by the rulers of the country until the thirteenth century.

Such is Arles after long centuries, during which fate and hap have conspired, as it were, to "fill the cup of alteration with divers liquors." Yet standing in this forlorn, sleepy place, one can easily imagine a larger, fairer Arles, built on both sides of the Rhone to care for its busy trade and so splendidly embellished as to earn the name "Gallic Rome"¹¹—a city offering every luxury known to its age and advantages such as are mentioned in the Emperor Honorius' edict of the year 418, which provided for an annual representative assembly of the Gauls.¹² Frequently, too, on history's page stands the name of Arles. Here Constantine the Great often resided during the six years (306–312) that he ruled Gaul before entering Italy to win his celebrated victory over Maxentius; here were settled the terms of alliance between Maximian and Constantine; and here Constantine presided at a council of bishops to decide issues raised by the Donatist schism in the Christian Church. Arles, so rich in Christian traditions and relics, was the first important place in Gaul to receive the Gospel. Indeed, few are the great movements of the western world during the past twenty-five centuries that have not in some way been associated with Arles, whose traditions, reflecting something of every age, show the fusion of Greek, Gaul, and Roman and the blending of pagan and Christian religion, architecture, and art.

¹¹ See Ausonius, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* x. He ranks Arles (Callula Roma) tenth in order of famous cities, speaks of it as twofold, with bridges on the Rhone making a central street, and says it is the place at which the merchandise of the Roman world was gathered and distributed.

¹² Bury, *The Invasions of Europe by the Barbarians*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1928), 112: "All the famous products of the rich Orient, of perfumed Arabia and delicate Assyria, of fertile Africa, fair Spain, and brave Gaul abound here so profusely that one might think that the various marvels of the world were indigenous to its soil. Built at the junction of the Rhone with the Tuscan sea, it unites all the enjoyments of life and all the facilities of trade."

THE INFLUENCE OF ROME ON THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

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The tremendous intellectual heritage from Greece and Rome to modern western civilization has been fully and justly recognized in all particulars but one. The still-flourishing vitality of Roman governmental theory has been almost completely ignored in works dealing with the Latin stimulus to present-day development. The fact that the structure of our own government is similar to that of Republican Rome, though obvious even to casual students of Roman history, has attracted but little general attention. It is the purpose of this paper to show that certain basic likenesses did not arise by chance and that we have borrowed more than mere terminology for our political functions.

The generally accepted assumption in regard to the origin of our constitution is that its principles were drawn from the English constitution and from English political philosophers, notably from Locke. An unprejudiced view readily admits this in so far as innumerable details of our government are concerned, but in its fundamental, underlying principle, that of check and balance through division of power, the constitution of the United States owes nothing to any source but that of Roman government and the concept of a Roman historian, Polybius. The only other explanation of consequence, that the constitution burst full-grown from the brows of its framers, if admitted, would be a denial of the value and effect of all human experience and must be rejected as patently absurd.¹

¹ James Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (1901), II, 535-537, says that Americans had no theory of the state and felt no need for one. Albert Bushnell Hart in *National Ideals Historically Traced*: New York and London (1907), 90, states that "the people who have done the most to alter the world's conception as to what government ought to be have furnished no political philosopher . . . and justify Bryce's dictum."

In the past few years the usefulness of the constitution has been questioned as never before. Today, when our chief executive is exercising authority so complete, it may be doubted whether it fulfills its intended function of restraint of power. The mushroom growth of European dictatorships and the possible permanence of the present Russian government tend to magnify criticism of our own governmental system as concerns its ability to contend with an increasingly chaotic economic and political situation. It seems, therefore, a peculiarly fit time for a consideration of the origin and nature of the inner structure of our government.

The first step in tracing the constitution to Rome may well be a demonstration of the close acquaintance of the "Constitutional Fathers" with ancient thought through their various educations. Had these men been nothing more than sturdy patriots and sons of the soil, they might reasonably have constructed a system of government related to their own experience and the English constitution alone. But this was no ordinary body of men. Perhaps never before or since in history has so able and intelligent a group been assembled.

Of the fifty-five original members of the Convention at least thirty-one were lawyers; of these at least twenty-four were college graduates, nine of Princeton, three of Yale, two of Harvard, two of the College of Philadelphia, four of William and Mary, and one each from the Universities of Columbia, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Glasgow. The men most active in framing the constitution were well trained by virtue of an education that we know was almost entirely classical in subject matter and inspiration. To itemize: Alexander Hamilton attended Columbia College;² James Madison graduated from Princeton with an A.B. degree in 1772;³ Rufus King graduated from Harvard in 1777; Charles Pinckney was educated for the law in England; James Wilson received his education at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh; after coming to this

² George T. Curtis in his *Constitutional History of the United States*: London and New York (1899), I, 275, remarks of Hamilton that "his great characteristic was his profound insight into the principles of government. He possessed a thorough knowledge of the working of all the freer institutions of ancient and modern times."

³ *Ibid.*, of Madison: "His studies had made him familiar with examples of ancient and modern liberty and he had reflected upon them."

country in 1766 he became a tutor at Philadelphia College, where he acquired great distinction as a classical scholar; John Rutledge studied law in England; Gouverneur Morris attended King's College (now Columbia University) and was graduated in 1768. It is interesting to note that of the three leading opposers of the constitution as it was adopted two had no formal education.

From the nature of study in that time and from the record presented above it follows that the Convention as a whole and its leaders in particular were thoroughly conversant with ancient civilizations and could surely have drawn upon them for political theory. Their classical backgrounds were definitely revealed and exercised in the Convention. C. Edward Merriam⁴ says that "the colonists claimed no originality for the fundamental doctrines they preached; in fact, they declared that these ideas were at least as old as the days of Greece and Rome." A study of *The Records of the Federal Convention*⁵ gives indication of more than a superficial familiarity with Roman political institutions, and the frequency with which the name of Rome is mentioned in *The Records* is further evidence of the place it occupied in the political thought of the founders.* With this in mind we append a digest of the instances in which that name appears in notes on the Convention:

Vol. I, p. 74. Pierce's notes on executive power, in which Randolph objected to unity: Wilson stated that plurality in the executive function of the government would probably produce a tyranny as bad as that of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens or the Decemvirs of Rome.

P. 135. Madison's notes, concerning the religious motive for persecution, stated that this is verified by ancient as well as modern accounts; in Greece and Rome rich and poor, creditors and debtors, patricians and plebeians alternately oppressed one another with equal unmercifulness.

⁴ *A History of American Political Theories*: New York (1903), 90.

⁵ Edited by Max Farrand: New Haven (1911).

* Cf. R. M. Gummere, "John Adams Togatus," *Philological Quarterly* XIII (April, 1934), 203: "Parallels are, of course, deceptive; but one who has read carefully in colonial literature and oratory will come to the conclusion that there was seldom an epoch when the leading men were so imbued with the classical tradition." And *ibid.*, 204: "... just before the Revolution speculation was galvanized into superactivity; people read wide and deep; the talk ran to history. Statesmen hunted out parallels to support independence and revolt against dominating authority."

P. 151. Madison's notes on himself (on representatives): the fewer, the more powerful, as in the case of the Roman tribunes; "they lost their influence and power in proportion as their numbers were augmented"; they fell into factions and became the prey of the aristocrats.

P. 157. Yates' notes: Mr. Wilson said that state governments ought to be preserved, for it is not possible for a government as despotic as that of the Roman emperors to endure.

P. 158. King's notes: Madison repeated his theory of representation, citing the few Roman tribunes as having great weight.

P. 159. (As above): Dickerson observed that there were never more than ten tribunes and objected to any advocacy of a senate of that size.

P. 254. Madison's notes: Mr. Wilson spoke against executive plurality as unable to control legislation properly; he showed how in the case of the Triumvirates of Rome one of the three always predominated (as Caesar or Augustus) and how the division of executive power in the cases of the Roman consuls and the kings of Sparta resulted in factiousness.

P. 261. Yates' notes: Mr. Wilson repeated the above assertion with references to Rome.

P. 290. Madison's notes: Hamilton, in discussing the advisability of an elected monarch, cited the election of Roman emperors by the army.

P. 323. Madison's notes on Mr. Wilson: A large government must be divided into lesser jurisdictions as in Persia and Rome. Hamilton's answer: The example of Rome and Persia supported his doctrine of Federalism inasmuch as the great power given to proconsuls and satraps frequently produced revolts.

P. 328. Yates' notes: a rediscussion of the above.

P. 329. Yates quoted Hamilton: If power is split, tyrants are established, as in Rome they were obliged to create dictators.

P. 424. Madison's notes on Hamilton: When the tribunes had leveled the boundary between patricians and plebeians, wealth distinctions were substituted.

P. 448. Madison's notes on himself: Carthage and Rome tore one another to pieces instead of uniting to devour the rest of the world.

P. 465. Madison's notes on himself: Defense against foreigners as a means of tyranny at home. He quotes the maxim of the Romans: "to excite a war whenever a revolt is apprehended."

Vol. II, p. 300. Madison's notes on G. Morris (in advocating a dual executive system): In Rome when the aristocracy overturned the throne, the tyranny of one man did not ensue.

P. 371. Madison's notes on Pinckney: He espoused the cause of slavery and justified it by the example of Greece and Rome.

P. 372. Mr. Dickinson answered this by stating that Greece and Rome were made unhappy by their slaves.

Also, from *The Federalist and Other Constitutional Papers*⁶ we can abstract similar citations:

Number LXIII, p. 348. Hamilton cites Sparta, Rome, and Carthage in favoring an aristocratic government.

P. 352. He cites the Roman tribunes to show the irresistible force in that branch of the government which has the people behind it. He said that, by the testimony of Polybius, when the Carthaginian senate lost power, the country lost power.

Ibid., Vol. II, Letter V, p. 802. Dickinson ascribed the subversion of liberty in Carthage and Rome to the fact that the people encroached on the authority of the senate; he frequently mentioned Rome in the following pages, quoting Polybius on p. 806.

It is obvious from this evidence, though it is by no means complete, that the leaders of the Convention, and particularly those advocating the plan of the finally adopted constitution, were well enough acquainted with the theory as well as the actual working of Roman government to call upon this source for aid in forming the constitution. However, it is not necessary to span so great a space of time in one jump. In Montesquieu we have the conduit through which passed the basic principle of our constitution to its American fathers. But, before demonstrating this, the nature of this fundamental principle must be more fully stated.

"To the 'Fathers,' " says Merriam,⁷ "the great lesson of history was that government always tends to become oppressive and that it is the greatest foe of individual liberty." They sought, therefore, and put into effect a system designed to restrain, decentralize, divide, and balance the powers of government so that no part of it might gain dangerous predominance of control. This system, as in use in the United States, is commonly known as the system of "checks and balances." It is, simply, the theory of division of powers into independent executive, legislative, and judicial functions as exemplified respectively in our president, congress, and supreme court. It is the theory of Montesquieu and of Polybius from their observation of the Roman Republic.

Montesquieu showed that Roman government reached its best

⁶ Edited by E. H. Scott: Chicago (1894).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 77.

when this same tripartite division of powers had fullest exercise.⁸ He is well established as the thinker from whom the members of the Convention secured this theory. J. A. R. Marriott says that the fathers of the Constitution of the United States deliberately decided against the principle embodied in the "Grand Remonstrance"; in fact, in favor of the Monarchical as against the Parliamentary principle. Or rather, they preferred the practice of Cromwell to that of Walpole, and the theory of Montesquieu to either. Irresistibly attracted by the political philosophy of France, they adopted in its entirety Montesquieu's famous doctrine of the "Division of Powers." Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary were to be strictly coördinate and absolutely distinct.⁹

On the same page Marriott states in a footnote:

I am not, of course, unmindful of the traditional view that the American Constitution was modelled upon the theory as opposed to the practice of the English Constitution, but I suggest what seems to me to be a juster view.

That Locke was of any importance in the creation of the doctrine of triple division of powers is an ill-founded view.¹⁰ The effect of

⁸ Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois* XI, 12, p. 178, Nugent trans.) says concerning the government of Rome under the first five elected kings and the manner in which the three powers were distributed: "The constitution was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; and such was the harmony of power, that there was no instance of jealousy or dispute in the first reigns." He further says that the king commanded the armies, could decide some cases, and convened the people or senate; that the authority of the senate was very great, and the kings never laid any matter before the people till it had been debated by the senators; that the people had the right of choosing magistrates, consenting to new laws, and making war and peace with the king's permission, but they had no judicial power. This is a clear example of the effective working of a government in which the three principal powers are separated.

⁹ *English Political Institutions*: Oxford (1925), 24. Also Bryce says in Volume I of his *American Commonwealth*: New York (1911), 29, that "the Fathers' had for their oracle of political philosophy the treatise of Montesquieu on the 'Spirit of Laws.'"

In *The Constitution of the United States*: New York (1924), 232 f., James M. Beck says concerning checks and balances that this system was in part due to the confident belief of the framers of the constitution in the Montesquieu doctrine of the division of government into three separate parts. Beck, however, supported the theory of the English origin of the constitution.

Hannis Taylor remarks in *The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution*, I, Introd., 62: "So far as scientific knowledge was concerned, the oracles usually consulted were Blackstone and Montesquieu. The 'Spirit of Laws' was studied by Washington as a part of his preparation for the work of the convention." Washington drew the outlines of three new constitutions, each one of which aimed at the making of a stronger and more perfect union.

¹⁰ W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*: New

the make-up of the British constitution and of British political philosophy extended scarcely beyond the natural influence of race relationship. And even this was curtailed by the American fear of imitating anything smacking of the character of that government from which its liberty had just been secured.

In consideration of Montesquieu's undoubted authorship of the theory in question, as far as the American constitution is concerned, it has been advanced that he built the theory on his observation of the English constitution. It seems far more likely that he was attempting to fit the theory to that constitution as the best, but not nearly exact, example of it at his time. The English government does not approach the completeness of separation demanded by Montesquieu nor even the completeness achieved in the constitution of the United States. Merriam¹¹ says that "... in their constructive theory ... 'the Fathers' of 1776 were striking out on new lines of political experiment ...," not of theory. There have been enough definite objections, such as that of Trescher,¹² to the assumption that Montesquieu depended on the English constitution to sweep that assumption away. However, it is valuable to consider those ways in which England fails to fulfill the conditions of Montesquieu's doctrine, particularly in the judiciary.

In a general way, England's lack of separation of power is evidenced in the great predominance of the legislative function over the other two. First, the House of Commons has the practical

York (1905), 358: "As to Locke's treatment of the separation of powers, it is to be observed that he merely suggests the principle as useful in determining the relation of legislative and executive. The tripartite separation which is familiar today and the justification of this separation on the ground of the mutual checks which it calls into play have no place in the speculation of Locke but owe their development to the genius of the Frenchman who so successfully expanded the English philosopher's suggestion." Dunning evidently did not realize that the complete theory was close at hand to Montesquieu in his classical reading.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 92.

¹² H. Trescher's "Montesquieu's Einfluss auf die Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts" in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung usw.* XLII (1918), 291: "Montesquieu hat dabei das englische Volk und die englische Verfassung im Auge, allerdings nicht, wie sie zu seiner Zeit tatsächlich beschaffen war, sondern wie er persönlich sie auffasst ... so benutzt er das Beispiel der englischen Verfassung, wie er sie für seine Zwecke umkonstruiert hat; um die individualistischen Forderungen, die der Rationalismus seiner Zeit so stark betonte, sicher zu stellen."

power to control the Prime Minister and his Cabinet by ousting them immediately as it loses confidence in them. In the United States the presidential power of veto and the set length of his term of office make him far more independent. Secondly, in England the legal competence of Parliament is unlimited, while in America the judges are constantly asked not only to interpret a law but to determine whether or not a law is a law. They have the power to annul congressional or state legislation on the single statement of inconsistency with the constitution. This adjustment of power shows the direct influence of Montesquieu.¹³ There is nothing like it in England. To ignore the absence in the English government of an entire third of our system of separate functions is taking undue license. Lacking a powerful judiciary it could not possibly have been the model either for our own government or for Montesquieu's theory.

Therefore, with the threefold division of powers resting safely in Montesquieu's hands, we must ask where he discovered it. In Rome, of course, perhaps in certain periods of Roman government, as shown above, and probably in the historical writings of Polybius, in whom we find the first record of this theory. It is unnecessary to describe Montesquieu's abilities as a classical scholar, for his works are a monument to them.¹⁴ Dunning clearly states this close connection in his *History of Political Theories Ancient and Medieval*.¹⁵

Polybius, on the other hand, conceives of a mixed constitution as expressed in the existence of three organs, embodying each a distinct principle and acting through self-interest as restraints upon one another. In the earlier philosophers the instability incident to a simple form was to be obviated by a blending of principles; in Polybius the same end was sought by reciprocal antagonism of organs. Both devices have been recognized in theory and in

¹³ *Op. cit.*, XI, 6, 163: "Again, there is no liberty if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control."

¹⁴ Dunning (*op. cit.*, 394) says that "Montesquieu assumed the accuracy and sufficiency of the accounts left by the Roman historians and made these accounts the basis of his generalizations as to the course of Roman affairs. On the whole, it may be assumed that Roman history and contemporary English institutions were the chief elements in determining the purpose as well as the system of Montesquieu's political philosophy."

¹⁵ New York (1902), 118.

practice in all later ages, but it is the latter, rather than the former, that has the greater affinity with the modern notion of check and balance among the three departments of government.

Polybius himself wrote as follows:

As for the Roman constitution, it had three elements, each of them possessing sovereign powers: and their respective share of the power in the whole state had been regulated with . . . a scrupulous regard to equality and equilibrium. . . .¹⁶ For when any one of the three classes becomes puffed up and manifests an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the mutual interdependency of all the three and the possibility of the pretensions of any one being checked and thwarted by the others, must plainly check this tendency. . . .¹⁷

A comparison of the principle revealed in these statements with the doctrine that is in force in the constitution of the United States will discover little, if any, difference.

In our opinion the evidence is conclusive. We have shown that the framers of the American constitution were likely, by education and experience, to turn to Rome for inspiration. We have indicated that Montesquieu is accepted as the oracle of political theory for that time. We have demonstrated the extreme improbability of Montesquieu's having developed his doctrine from observation of a government so signally lacking in one of the essential organs of his theory. We have pointed out the exact likeness between the political philosophy adopted by Montesquieu and later by the Americans who molded the constitution.

It seems, then, that we are left no alternative and must turn again to Rome with another acknowledgment of her aid to us—this time in the field of government.

¹⁶ Schuckburgh trans.: London and New York (1889), Vol. I, 468.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 474.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE *AENEID*: ITS ANTECEDENTS AND DEVELOPMENT

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It seems a highly probable assumption that Augustus, as part of his revival of Roman religion, set to work to have a literature of religion produced. Three important members of his staff of propaganda were Vergil, Horace, and Livy. The task of Vergil was to produce an Old Testament for this religion, a combination of history and prophecy, acceptable not only to Augustus but to all classes of citizens in his empire.

For nearly two centuries after the Second Punic War, a period generally recognized as a turning point in the history of Roman religion, it had been in a gradual decay. During the war there were constant signs of religious excitement and change. New deities were introduced, and new methods found for worshipping the old. Once the older forms had been shaken, many influences combined to hasten the process of destruction. Literature, dominated by Greek influences, replaced old Roman deities with Greek conceptions. In art Greek types were adopted to represent Roman gods, and those without foreign counterparts lacked representation and lost popularity. Greek philosophy, with tendencies to rationalism, skepticism, and atheism, became familiar to the educated upper classes, whose members filled the more important priesthoods. These classes, too, suffered an enormous loss of life and a consequent disruption of traditions, first in a series of foreign wars, and still more in the dreadful years of civil strife and proscription.

The restoration of order in civil life had to be attended by a restoration of the *pax deorum*, which had perhaps been contemplated by Julius, who was not without interest in the forms of religion. A

dozen years, however, had to be spent in liquidating the legacy of bloodshed left by his murder, before Augustus could start a definite revival and reorganization of the national religion. New temples were built and old ones restored. Priesthoods and religious fellowships were raised again to their ancient dignity. An attempt was made to provide a literature for religion, something that Rome had not previously possessed. The composition of the *Aeneid*, in which Augustus took considerable interest, eventually saving the poem from destruction, was contemporaneous with the outward signs of revival.

The *Aeneid* is preëminently a religious poem.¹ It is proposed to show here, first, what tendencies of recent and contemporary thought had to be incorporated with the old forms of religion to build up a new and generally acceptable whole; and second, what results the poet achieved. These tendencies include the rise of a deterministic attitude of mind through the teachings of philosophy, the new conception of prophecy, and the spread of astrology, the growing worship of *Fortuna*, the introduction of Caesar worship, and a new attitude towards the after life.

The problem of free will apparently did not trouble the Romans until after the introduction of Greek philosophy. Stoicism brought with it the principle of *fatum*, which Cicero defined as *ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causa causae nexa rem ex se gignat*.² Also Jupiter, the supreme god, may be identified with *fatum*. Although when once laid down *fata* may not be changed, the theory is not pure fatalism, for prayer avails when it does not run counter to *fata*, and something still depends on man's judgment.

Epicureanism, on the other hand, was not a deterministic philosophy. It would have been small gain after freeing man from the fear of the gods to deliver him up to the power of destiny. To avoid this the doctrine of the atomic swerve was introduced into the physical theory borrowed from Democritus. As the atoms of Epicurus swerve at their own discretion, the mind of man, too, possesses free will, thanks to which he is enabled to follow after pleasure. The limitations imposed by natural law may be compared to the control exercised by divine providence in the Stoic system.

¹ Gaston Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, 259.

² Cic., *De Div.* I, lv, 125.

Interest in this question of divine control of man's actions, arising from the opposite speculations of these schools, was increased by the growing vogue for prophecy in everyday life. Prophecy had not been an integral part of the old religion. Little is known of the original theory on which divination was based, for there has survived no literature on the subject not open to the influence of the Stoics, who accepted divination in its entirety as a proof of the existence of the gods. The taking of the auspices, however, was not a prediction of the future. It was a question whether or not something should or could be done, and the auspices held good only for the day on which they were taken. The *haruspices* cannot be cited as evidence for a Roman belief in a predetermined future, as they were an Etruscan institution and were only summoned at the order of the senate to explain the requisite propitiations on the occurrence of prodigies. Even then they were not held in much esteem by the stricter element at Rome.

The Sibylline books were concerned more with the worship of the gods than with man's future. They were regularly employed to explain portents, sometimes with the *haruspices* as a mutual check. Their business was not to announce what would happen but to prevent misfortune happening through disregarding the signs sent by divine power. During the Marian wars their storage place, the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, was burned. For seven years, until an official recollection was made, the Sibyl was loosed from official control, and during that time she began to prophesy. Soon afterwards occur three historical cases of prophetic utterances ascribed to the books, one made in 63 to Lentulus that three Cornelii should rule at Rome, a second in 56, concerning the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes, and a third in 44, demanding a king to conduct war against the Parthians. None of these could possibly have been derived from the old books. Augustus, seeing the danger, made a fresh collection, rejecting over ten thousand prophetic books and storing the remainder, duly censored, in the temple of Apollo.

This deity, introduced at Rome as a healing god, had come to preside over prophecy in the character of the Greek Phoebus. Two rival candidates for this office, not needed in the old religion, were

Faunus and Carmenta. The former seems to have been the embodiment of the Fauni, conceived as an ancient race that might be coaxed or compelled to reveal secrets, like the "little people" of the Celts. They made pronouncements of the future, speaking from groves. Similarly Aius Locutius, the voice that gave warning of the coming of the Gauls, was honored with an altar, though no attempt was made to start an oracle or a system of prophecy around it. So Faunus had no temple at Rome till 196 and was not an important deity in state worship. Carmenta³ was regarded as a birth-goddess. She probably originated in the magic stage, for she was old enough to have a *flamen*, as the deity of the spells used to ensure favorable delivery in childbirth. As magic spells gradually became disreputable, she sank into the background and was revived when prophecy came into fashion and needed a presiding deity.

Among the uneducated prophecy was a matter of fortune telling by quack practitioners, supported by astrological theories introduced by easterners among the slave population. Little is known of the spread of astrology at Rome. It was at first despised by the educated, by such men as Ennius, Pacuvius, and Cato, but obtained such influence among the uneducated that in 139 it was thought advisable to banish the astrologers from Italy.⁴ With them were banished the Jews, accused of spreading the worship of Jupiter Sabazius, which shows that the decree of banishment was a religious measure. The teaching of the divinity of the stars by the Stoics, whose leaders came largely from the East, gained a measure of respectability for astrology, which also came to play a part in politics. Though Agrippa banished the astrologers in 33, Augustus could not look with disfavor on an influence that had assisted the deification of Julius by interpreting the comet seen after his death as his soul among the stars. The fact that a horoscope of the city of Rome could be cast pointed to the idea of a divinely ordained destiny for that city.

Opposed to the determinists were those who believed in a fortuitous occurrence of events. In this connection some discussion of

³ Her name is connected with *carmen* in the sense of "spell."

⁴ Cf. Val. Max. I, iii, 3.

the word *fortuna* seems desirable. As a goddess, Fortuna was believed to be of Sabine origin. Before the Punic Wars she had at least three temples in or near Rome, and special honors were paid to Fortuna Muliebris and Fortuna Virilis. In general, Fortuna was the goddess of fortunate outcome: in childbirth, as witness her connection with women properly (that is, only once) married, who alone might offer a *corona* at the shrine of Fortuna Muliebris; in agriculture, for the day of the summer solstice was *dies natalis* of the old *Fanum Fortis Fortunae* beyond the Tiber; and, later, in mercantile ventures by sea, for boat races were held in her honor. In all these there is an element of chance, which would allow for her development into a goddess of luck. This development was promoted by the introduction of Fortuna Primigenia of Praeneste, who presided over a system of divination by lots. Though this deity was in disfavor at Rome as late as 241, a temple was officially vowed her in 204, which was followed at an uncertain date by a temple to Fortuna Publica Citerior. The goddess had in fact become the peculiar Fortuna of the Roman people. Thus a special group could have its own Fortuna, as shown by the temple of Fortuna Equestris, 173, or even a special season, *Fortuna Huiusce Diei*, 168. The next step was the adoption of Fortuna by individuals, by Sulla and Julius Caesar. Here again Augustus, in erecting the altar of Fortuna Redux, was following a marked path.

As a common noun, *fortuna* might mean "luck" in the vulgar sense and especially "good luck" and "fortune" as meaning "riches." It was used in a technical philosophical sense as opposed to *fatum* or to represent the tendency of a person or group to a special fortune. Livy contrasts Rome and Carthage: *Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis?*⁵

Another tendency of the period, toward a belief in apotheosis, might be found in most schools of thought at Rome. The agnostic listened to the teachings of Euhemerus that gods were men raised to the skies for their services to humanity. The Stoics regarded Hercules, Aesculapius, Liber, Castor and Pollux as deified men.

⁵ Livy XXI, x, 6.

Even among the Epicureans Lucretius was ready to exalt their master to divine status. The traditionalist knew how Romulus had been lifted to the heavens and identified with the old Quirinus. The skeptic could see instances in recent times amounting to deification—of Marcellus in Sicily, Flamininus at Chalcis, Lucullus at Cyzicus, Mucius Scaevola in Asia, and even Cicero. At Rome itself Africanus Major had been treated as more than human, and a cult had been instituted in honor of the dead Gracchi, while Romans had joined in bestowing divine honors on Marius and Metellus Pius. The way was prepared for the appearance of Julius Caesar among the gods. A succession of divine honors was decreed to him before his death, and a popular apotheosis was his lot thereafter. The second triumvirate naturally sponsored the cult, and in 29 a temple was officially dedicated to Divus Julius.

A new attitude, too, was being assumed toward the after life. The old religion had recognized an existence after death. Two festivals in the calendar, the Parentalia and the Lemuria, were devoted to the spirits of the departed, who were also probably connected with the Larentalia, when sacrifices were made to the *manes* of Acca Larentia and also to *diis manibus servilibus*, and perhaps with the Compitalia, for, whatever the origin of the Lares, to whom this festival was celebrated, one view current in Varro's day was that they were human souls now among the number of the gods. These spirits were localized near the graves and beneath the earth. The Manes shared with the earth goddess, Tellus or Terra Mater, the fruit of the *devotio*. Though they were generally thought of in a body, the individual had *manes* of his own, and the carrying of the *imagines* of dead ancestors in the funeral procession forbids the thought that individual personality was supposed to be quite destroyed by death.

Yet there was evidently confusion in the ideas current as to the condition of the dead. As Lemures and Larvae they were evil spirits, though of limited power, while as Manes and Lares, former members of the family, they were not ill-disposed and were satisfied, though deities, with little worship. During nearly a century of strife man's tenure of life had been short and unassured, allowing him time to care little for what might come after. Poets sang that

death was the dark night of nothingness; enjoy life and love, they said, while time permits. Epicureans believed in no survival, Stoics in a limited one. Death offered no prospect of a bright hereafter; yet the old Etruscan fables of the terrors of hell were fading equally into oblivion. Plautus' characters had seen pictures of them; Polybius marked belief in them as perishing; Cicero considered them, as old wives' tales, beyond credence. Death was dreadful only to those who had nothing to leave as a memorial. The immortality of fame was dearer to the Roman than the immortality of the personality. Such beliefs of the after life as were prevalent could be traced to external sources, Dionysiac, Jewish, Neo-Pythagorean, Egyptian. The instances of quasi-apotheosis already quoted show what confusion was rampant. The after life needed recharting.

Such then were some of the more important religious tendencies of the period. It remains to show how far they play a part in the theology of the *Aeneid*.

One of the most prominent features of the poem is its prophetic mold. There are three types of prophecies in it, interpretations of omens, oral prophecies dealing with the events of the story, and predictions concerning the future greatness and history of Rome. In the first class, an admirable example of augury of the old Roman type is the occasion when Anchises, seeing the portent of fire burning about the head of the child Ascanius, demands from Jupiter confirmation of the omen. Receiving this from thunder on the left and a shooting star, he proceeds to action. Other instances of omens are the horses seen on the first approach of Aeneas to Italy, the swarm of bees and Lavinia's burning hair, both for King Latinus, and that of the eagle and the swan, wrongly interpreted by Tolumnius. The second class, prophecies dealing with the events of the story, is the most numerous. The knowledge, originating with Jupiter, comes through another god to some prophetic mouthpiece. Thus the Magna Mater Deorum sends Aeneas prophecies through the *simulacrum* of Creusa and through the ships changed at her behest into nymphs. A group of prophecies during Aeneas' wanderings come from Apollo through his oracle at Delos, through the vision of the Penates, from the mouths of Celaeno, Helenus, and

the Sibyl. In no other way and nowhere else in the story could prominence so suitably be given to the deity favored by Augustus. Vergil seems deliberately to have avoided an earlier version in which the star of Venus guided the wandering Trojans; he takes pains to mention that no stars were visible or, naming other stars, studiously neglects this one. It may be noticed that all these prophecies are made directly to Aeneas, which may justify his fatalistic attitude. In the last group stand three great prophecies of future greatness, the first uttered to Venus directly by Jupiter himself on his first appearance in the poem, the second made by Anchises to his son at the turning point in the poem, and the third engraved by Vulcan on the shield for the reader and not for the characters of the story. There is also the brief prophecy given to Latinus from the dream oracle of Faunus, no less impressive for its very brevity and its sweeping promises of world-wide dominion.

There is no doubt that the divine machinery of the *Aeneid* is at first sight confusing. Commentators and expositors reach utterly contradictory opinions on the relative powers of Jupiter and *fatum*. This is not due to carelessness on the part of Vergil. Rather did he deliberately leave inconsistencies and passages of doubtful interpretation. The theology of the poem had to satisfy every school of thought. Each must be able to find texts supporting his own tenets, so that each could subscribe to the whole. Occasional conformity is sufficient. Once the astrological enthusiast, for example, finds Dido the victim of stellar destiny, he will feel ready to explain and gloss over inconsistencies. He will feel that his own belief is endorsed by the official scriptures, and the Augustan revival will have made a successful inoculation.

This does not mean that the *Aeneid* is a jumble of inconsistent theories. It has a definite system of its own. One key passage, revealed as such by its position, is the utterance with which Jupiter closes the council of the gods, and especially his final words:

*sua cuique exorsa laborem
fortunamque ferent. rex Jupiter omnibus idem.
fata viam invenient.*⁶

⁶ *Aeneid* x, 111-113.

The second sentence here is liable to misunderstanding. Placed between two futures, it requires the verb *erit*, not *est*. It means, then, "King Jupiter will be impartial," with reference to the coming struggle, and so the destinies of the heroes will work out their path. The supreme king will step aside and allow the clash of destinies to take place. *Fata* here is not, as sometimes, the special will of Jupiter, nor is it a power superior to his, for he has specifically explained that for once he is giving way to it. It is the destinies of the two chieftains, which Jupiter will subsequently weigh in his scales, not because of doubt as to the outcome but as a concrete sign that this is more than a fight between two warriors. A second key passage, the position of which also is significant, is to be found in Jupiter's reply to Venus' questions on his first appearance in the poem. Here again he is revealed beyond doubt as the supreme ruler. The principles made clear in these two passages are confirmed throughout the poem. *Fatum* is the decree of Jupiter and, once allotted, must stand unchanged. A parallel is to be found in the Old Testament, where Isaac's blessings, once given, cannot be recalled, though a fresh decision may be given on a point not already covered.⁷ Jacob had been given dominion over his brother. This was not, however, specified as permanent, so that Esau could be promised that one day he should shake off the yoke. Similarly, though Jupiter had marked the Trojans for mastery, he had not prescribed that they should hold it under their own name, and he could concede Juno's request for the retention of the Latin name, not being bound on this point by his *fatum*.⁸ The knowledge of *fatum* is shared by the other gods. In the only case where one claims ignorance Venus is sparring with her old opponent Juno, whom she knows to be lying, and does not hesitate herself to prevaricate.⁹ Yet, though the gods have knowledge, man is ignorant of *fatum* save where it is revealed to him by prophecy.

On the other hand, *fortuna* is not a matter of much interest to the gods but is a word found most frequently in the mouths of the young and headstrong characters of the poem, Ascanius, Euryalus, Pallas, Nisus, Turnus. The general conception is of *fortuna* as pointing a path that it would be well to follow, though refusal is

⁷ Genesis xxvii, 26-41.

⁸ Aeneid xii, 819.

⁹ Aeneid iv, 110.

possible. It does not come in conflict with the supreme power of Jupiter, who has given decrees that may not be rescinded. These decrees form a basis for the individual destinies of men and nations, and the clash of these makes the sum of destiny as a whole, as a motive force. The dark destiny of Troy, under which Aeneas labors at first, changes till it is an assurance of success, sweeping away before it the possible hindrances of Dido and Turnus, to become the glorious destiny of that Rome which shall rule the world. Religion and patriotism are made one.

Caesar worship is naturally limited in the *Aeneid* by the circumstance of chronology. The only direct mention is in the important first prophecy of Jupiter. The difficulty of apotheosis is touched, however, and smoothed down by the ease with which Anchises is seen to pass from mortal life to a position akin to that of the gods. Aeneas, too, is destined for the heavens and may serve as a parallel for Augustus. Vergil's attitude toward Caesar worship shows a regular progress slightly in advance of the official cult. In the *Eclogues* Augustus is shown in the position of a deity to the poet personally; in the *Georgics* this personal cult has become national; in the *Aeneid* Vergil syncretizes apotheosis firmly with Roman religious thoughts and prepares the way for a theory of divine kingship.

Vergil's views on the after life are not consistent. Polydorus and Palinurus, who have met similar fates, are found surviving under quite different circumstances. Creusa is apparently neither dead nor alive. The dead are individualized and receive worship. Yet in the sixth book all is different. The underworld is neatly arranged and charted, not with geographical exactness but so that once again different schools of belief could find their particular ideas woven into a convincing whole. The special message that Vergil brings from his eschatology seems to be the need for both moral and ritual purity. Aeneas must rely on the golden bough as well as on his personal piety.

The gods of the poem are the Hellenized forms of Roman deities, and those who lack a Greek counterpart are at a disadvantage; they are localized in Italy and appear only in the second half of the poem. The use of the name of a god by metonymy for

the object or activity over which he presides, found in seven cases, seems to detract from the spirituality of the concept. Politics affects the representation of the gods. The two most connected with Antony are Bacchus and Hercules; the former plays an unimportant part and is worshiped by hostile characters; the latter the poet is at pains to establish in close connection with Rome and in a specifically Roman setting. Isis is not mentioned; Cleopatra had counted herself a new Isis. The only appearance of Egyptian gods, and it is the typically non-Roman animal Anubis who alone is named, is in opposition to the Roman gods at Actium. On the other hand, the Magna Mater, the only one of the *Sacra Peregrina* officially worshiped at Rome at the time, receives dignified and favorable treatment. Although the other gods are inferior to Jupiter, prayer may profitably be addressed to them, and they are at liberty to answer or refuse, except in cases already covered by *fatum*. This may be seen in the cases of Pallas' two prayers before his encounters with Halaesus and Turnus.

In summary it may be said that the theology of the *Aeneid* is a careful synthesis, made by a deeply religious mind, attempting, with no little success, to weld the main tendencies in the religious thought of the preceding century and a half on to the basis of the older religion.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

BEN-HUR

The details of Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* are fictitious, of course, but are supposedly based on fact. Upon investigation, however, there are found to be several historical discrepancies concerning two of the principal characters, Ben-Hur and Messala, who were rivals in the chariot race at Antioch. Although Ben-Hur was a Jew by birth he had been adopted by Quintus Arrius, a very wealthy Roman of high rank who wore on his toga the broad purple border. Afterward, according to the novelist, Ben-Hur so perfected himself in the palaestra as a pugilist and in the hippodrome as a chariot-eeer that the Emperor Tiberius—for the race took place before the crucifixion of Christ—offered him his patronage if he would drive his horses against the entries of the world. Messala, who drove a chariot in the hippodrome and that, too, in a province, where one would naturally expect a noble Roman to preserve to the utmost his *gravitas*, is represented as a grandson of the noble Messala, the friend of Augustus. Yet in the story this elder Messala is called the "client of Augustus"; and his son, the father of our Messala, is charged with the receipt and management of the taxes in Judaea. It is not probable that a noble Roman of the Republic or Early Empire would be the client of another but would himself have clients, nor would his son, still of noble rank, hold an office inferior to that of an equestrian procurator, such as the one he held in Judaea.

Dio (XLVIII, 43) states that soon after the death of Julius Caesar senators were forbidden to appear in the arena. About 16 B.C., according to Suetonius (*Augustus* xliii), there was passed a *senatus consultum* prohibiting even Roman knights from the stage as well, and Tiberius punished those of both orders who tried to

evade the law by securing their own conviction of some dishonorable act (Suet., *Tib.* xxxv). Consequently, the performance of the noble Messala cannot be defended for an instant, because the historians show that it would not have been possible. Besides, the inscriptions in *C.I.L.* VI, 10044-10082, show that all charioteers were either foreigners or slaves. No inscription has been found indicating that a noble Roman took part in a chariot race. Furthermore, as Tiberius punished those who tried to evade the *senatus consultum* passed in the reign of Augustus, it is hardly probable that he would have allowed Ben-Hur, a noble Roman by adoption, to acquire skill as a charioteer in the arena and then invite him to drive his own chariot.

So it seems that one of the most entertaining scenes of this classic novel is out of place in the period designated and must be described as another interesting impossibility.

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TWO PASQUINADES

For centuries the Roman populace was accustomed to express disapproval of its rulers by resorting to anonymous satiric verse. Two strikingly similar compositions, one of the first century of our era and the other of the fifteenth, protest against the savage cruelty and intemperance of a sovereign. When the Emperor Tiberius was displaying his wonted severity, the following lines, among others, were circulated against him, attacking this fault and also his well-known fondness for wine:

*Fastidit vinum quia iam silit iste cruorem;
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.*¹

The Roman satiric spirit did not change. In 1453 a Roman demagog, Stefano Porcaro, was arrested for conspiring against Pope Niccolo V. The Pontiff, in his cups, as rumor had it, hastily condemned Porcaro and had him executed in the Castel Sant'

¹ Cf. Suet., *Tib.* lix.

Angelo.² Thereupon some Roman made this anonymous attack:

*Da quando è Niccolo papa e assassino,
Abbona a Roma il sangue, e scarso è il vino.*

"Since Niccolo has been Pope and assassin, blood is plentiful at Rome, and wine is scarce."³

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CRETICUS AUT CAMERINUS, JUVENAL VIII, 38

With these words Juvenal brings to a close a passage in which he says we name objects from their opposites, calling a dwarf "Atlas," an Ethiopian "a Swan," etc. Then he adds, "See to it that you are not with like irony called Creticus or Camerinus." Juvenal evidently alludes to well-known examples of unworthy men who held these names of honor; and it misses the point of the satire to cite, as most modern editors do, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Creticus and the famous family of the Sulpicii Camerini, who were conspicuous for their services in the early history of the state and had been also represented by two worthy men who held the consulship in the first century after Christ. Grangaeus (ed. 1614) says that Juvenal does not here refer to Metellus and Sulpicius but to their degenerate descendants. I think that by *Creticus* Juvenal alludes to Marcus Antonius Creticus, son of the orator, brother of Cicero's colleague, and father of the triumvir. This Antonius held the praetorship in 75 B.C. and in the following year was given the command of a fleet to suppress the pirates who found refuge in Crete. Indifference, inefficiency, and disaster marked his performance, and he was called Creticus in derision.

Tacitus (*Hist.* II, 72) tells the story of a runaway slave whose name was Geta. Claiming to be Scribonianus Camerinus and that he had fled from Rome during the reign of Nero when his father had been murdered, he returned to Rome in the time of Vitellius,

² Cf. Ferdinand Adolf Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*: Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta (eight volumes, 1889-1903), VII, 133, n. 1.

³ Cf. R. and F. Silenzi, *Pasquino*: Milano, Valentino Bompiani (1932), 198. The original text may well have been in Latin, since many of the satires of the fifteenth century were translated into Italian at a much later date.

secured a substantial following, and created considerable confusion in the state. But being recognized by his former master, he was seized and crucified.

These examples of false titles here satirized by the poet fit the meaning of the passage better than those usually cited and may well be the Creticus and Camerinus whom Juvenal has in mind. Perhaps he alludes to them also in II, 67 and VII, 90.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

STRABO, *Geography*, Edited with an English Translation by Horace Leonard Jones, Vol. VIII (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. 510. 10s.; \$2.50.

This is the eighth and last volume of the translation of Strabo¹ and contains Book xvii, an Index of Names, Places, and Subjects of nearly three hundred pages, and maps of Egypt and Ethiopia, Libya, and the ancient city of Alexandria. It is a remarkable achievement to have finished and published these eight volumes so quickly. Professor Jones deserves the thanks of all classical scholars for giving us the best revised Greek text of Strabo so far published and an excellent and accurate translation. Especially to be commended is the laborious and learned index, which must have occupied much time but which will be extremely useful. It should now be possible, with these volumes as a basis, to issue an exhaustive commentary with discussion of sources and of all the available information from excavations and of the literature about the different places mentioned in Strabo. Some one ought to do for Strabo what Frazer did for Pausanias. Professor Jones does not mention, for example, the Italian excavations at Cyrene, but he has certainly advanced our knowledge of Strabo, and his long labors have not been in vain. Each volume has seemed to me better than the previous one. The eighth shows a decided improvement and is the most scholarly and original of all.

¹ For reviews of previous volumes see THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL xxiv (1929), 541-543; xxvi (1930), 241-242; xxvii (1931), 304-305.

Although there is no mention of the important excavations in Egypt, at Memphis, Thebes, and the pyramids, the discussion of the pyramids in a long note on pages 90-91 is a genuine piece of research and shows how all editors from Casaubon down, translators and archaeologists, either emend the text or misinterpret it or both. Speaking of the great pyramid Professor Jones translates:

High up, approximately midway between the sides, it has a movable stone, and when this is raised up, there is a sloping passage to the vault.

All of us who have slid down this passage in visiting the pyramid of Cheops will appreciate Professor Jones' correction of all other editors, including even Sir Flinders Petrie, who makes Strabo say:

The Greater Pyramid, a little way up one side, has a stone which may be taken out.

A few minor criticisms occur to me. There are still strange spellings, such as "Aegypt" and "Leucullus" and "Macyperna" (several times in the translation and in the index) for Mecyperna or Mecyberna, the port of Olynthus. Visconti's *Iconographie* is out of date (p. 25, n. 2), and a reference to a more modern book would have been in order. On the same page why refer to Rostovtzeff's *History of the Ancient World* and not to Hermann Thiersch's own book on *Pharos* (Berlin, 1909). In the notes (p. 37) discussing the transport of Alexander's body from Babylon a reference to the artistic hearse in which it was brought would have been in order (cf. Kurt Müller, *Der Leichenwagen des Alexander des Grossen*). I still believe we should say Cassius Dio and not Dio Cassius (quoted p. 36). Nor has the sarcophagus of Alexander, found at Sidon and now in Istanbul (cf. p. 37, n. 4), anything to do with Strabo's idea of the glass or possibly alabaster sarcophagus for Alexander's body at Alexandria. Byron was wrong in thinking it the tomb of Alexander. "Edmunds" (p. 93, n. 2) should be Edmonds. Oxyrhynchus appears three times (p. 109) and four times (p. 419) as "Oxyrynchus."

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AESCHYLUS, *The Prometheus Bound*, Edited with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation by George Thomson: Cambridge, University Press (1932). Pp. vii+184. \$3.50.¹

The emphasis of this edition is chiefly literary rather than textual. Thomson's own emendations are few and slight except in vss. 428-430, where he reads

"Ατλανθ' ὅς αἰὲν ὑπερόχῳ σθένει
κραταιὸν οὐρανοῦ πῶλον
στέγων νώτοις ὑποστενάζει

He stresses the significance of the trilogy, which he believes began with this play. The poet's sympathy is entirely with Prometheus, but he cannot absolve him of the sin of pride, which, however, Thomson believes he renounces in the succeeding play (p. 22).

Thomson is a metricist (he is the author of *Greek Lyric Metre*: Cambridge, 1929) and a musician. He uses terms that musicians will readily understand. Marked pauses divide the play into four movements (p. 13); he deals much with "recurrent motives" and has a distinct flair for "keywords" (p. 16) and for a balance of parts between the first and second plays (p. 32) as well as of phrase and word within the separate play.

The third play is the *Pyrrhorus*, which does not mean the "bringer" but the "carrier of fire," honored with Athena and Hephaestus at Athens by torch festivals and no more responsible than they for the introduction of fire (p. 33).

A long section (vi) discusses the authenticity and date of the play. The argument for its genuineness is based chiefly on the evidence of language, and the date is set between 458 and 456 B.C.

The translation is adequate, with an occasional touch of considerable vigor, e.g., vss. 362: "His cindered strength was thundered out of him"; 467 f.: "the mariner's car on hempen wing roaming the trackless ocean"; 562 f.: Io sees Prometheus "bridled in boulders and harnessed in stone." But is *πικροῦ . . . μνηστῆρος* (739 f.)

¹ All references in this review are to the numbering of Wecklein, which is printed in parentheses at the left of Thomson's text. Thomson adopts the numeration of Wilamowitz (p. vi) but unfortunately does not follow it consistently.

"a brutal lover"? The lyric portions seem to follow the Greek metre with some closeness, occasionally syllable for syllable.

The special feature of the commentary is word study and especially the quoting of parallels for striking images, e.g., vss. 242, 323, 547; pp. 147, 151, 161. Mocking reiteration of words (vss. 36-81; p. 136) is ingeniously brought out. The repetition of a word as a *Leitmotiv* is frequently noted: on vss. 397, 476-507, 561-608; pp. 155, 158, 161 f.

Thomson has heterodox but attractive ideas regarding the manner in which the Oceanid chorus enters the orchestra, not in a chariot but pretending to fly in a dance. This is suggested by the metre of the parodos. They may have been conveyed from their home on sea horses, but these are left to the imagination (see p. 144). Then they cluster around the *thymele* and at verse 278 (see note, p. 149) they descend to earth. At the end of the play they stagger confusedly from the orchestra, stunned and scattered by the earthquake (cf. p. 174). They are not engulfed with Prometheus, who is withdrawn by the eccyclema.

Other interesting features are a new interpretation of the "step-mother of ships" and an occasional hint that not only Zeus but also Prometheus changes in the course of the trilogy. The beginnings of the conversion of Prometheus can be detected within the limits of our play.

The Greek is well printed in bold type. The small zeta is confusing at first—it looks so much like a 3; in fact (p. 8, n. 1) it appears by error in place of a 3. The commentary is followed by the fragments of the *Prometheus Unbound* with commentary (pp. 175-179) and a four-page metrical appendix.

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

DOUGLAS BUSH, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*: Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press (1932). Pp. viii+360. \$4.

This book is primarily for the student of English literature. Its purpose stated in the preface is

to follow some threads through the rich web of the classical tradition in English poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. . . . The material had to be limited, and, unless incidentally or for a special reason, nothing has been said of classical influences in general.

The student of classical literature, however, even if he encounters many figures he may never have heard of, as in the highly esoteric chapter on "Myths in Earlier Elizabethan Verse," will nevertheless read the book as a whole with profit and pleasure. He will find of particular interest the chapters entitled "Classical Themes in the Middle Ages," "Ovid Old and New," "Spenser," "Shakespeare: *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece*," and "Milton."

The classical authors who receive most attention are Vergil, Ovid, and Seneca. But the book abounds with interesting and penetrating bits of criticism of classical authors of which the following extracts are typical:

The very fullness of physical detail [of the lines of Sackville's *Induction* describing the underworld] loses something of the timeless universality and vague horror of Virgil's personifications. . . . Sackville shares the Virgilian mood more keenly than Spenser, but he lacks the power of suggestion, the sustained greatness of style, which raises the commonplaces of death to the Virgilian level (p. 62).

[Ovid] may not appeal to the immortal in man, but he has stirred to enthusiasm such various poets as Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth. His limitless invention and untiring verve, his delight in the sensuous, his taste for scenery at once pleasing and conventional, his easy mastery of every rhetorical artifice, such qualities were more fully enjoyed in the sixteenth than in any other century (p. 76).

One cannot race too quickly through the Louvre or the Italian galleries to observe that Ovid rivaled, or excelled, the Bible as a storehouse of subjects (p. 78).

It gives one pause when a poet of Spenser's sensitive nature, who, one would say, must have felt the quality of Virgil's most beautiful and moving book, can pass so easily, so unconscious of any jar, from the spirituality and humanity of the Virgilian underworld to the mythological catalogues of Ovid and Seneca (p. 104).

There are certain large general resemblances [between Virgil and Spenser]: both poets embody their deepest thoughts about life in material based on a romantic body of legend, both use patriotic myth to glorify their country and the ruling house. . . . The two poets differ in workmanship. . . . As

Dryden finely remarked, Virgil has the art of "expressing much in little and often in silence"; Spenser, like most poets of his age, rarely leaves anything unsaid (p. 106).

The entire book is copiously documented. Even a footnote may contain valuable information for the classical student from a stray source of which he may never have heard. For example, note 14 on page 16 quotes from H. W. Garrod's essay on Vergil in a collection of essays on classical authors by various writers, edited by George S. Gordon (1912):

Vergil set before himself a Ulysses, perhaps even a St. Louis—a crusading knight and a "holy war." In the issue he hovers between the two conceptions—and fails. Yet there emerges from the failure something greater, at any rate, in hope and suggestion, than any epical success: an ideal and mystical figure standing outside time and place, that seems to be now Aeneas, now Rome, now the soul of man setting forth doubtfully on the pilgrimage of a desecrated eternal glory.

Professor Bush was peculiarly fitted for the task he has so successfully accomplished. As an undergraduate at the University of Toronto, he majored in the classics and acquired the easy mastery of English writing characteristic of Canadian scholarship. In the Graduate School at Harvard he transferred his affections to English literature. The result of this admirable combination is a work of amazing erudition, brilliantly written with many a flash of wit. It is a book that any lover of classical or comparative literature will be glad to have on his shelves.

ROBERT V. CRAM

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

S. G. OWEN, *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, Edited for the Council of the Classical Association: Bristol and London, J. W. Arrowsmith (1932). Pp. xi+122. 3s. 6d.

The year 1932 marked the twenty-fifth of issue for *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, edited by S. G. Owen for the Council of the Classical Association. Doubtless this publication has been known and read by many CLASSICAL JOURNAL readers during the quarter-century of its existence; but on the other hand, because

it is a British publication, some classicists in this country may be unacquainted with it.

The periodical attempts to review the year's work in nine different fields of classical interest and apparently succeeds to an almost unbelievable extent. In the Preface the editor states that the periodical "does not profess to deal with matter published later than June in the year in which the volume appears." The volume reviews not only books in each of these fields but also relevant articles in ninety-three periodicals and in the Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll *Real-Encyclopädie*. The books and periodicals embrace French, German, Greek, and Italian publications in addition to those written in English.

In view of the fact that each division is written by an acknowledged scholar in that field (among the reviewers are included S. G. Owen, H. J. Rose, and J. F. Dobson), no classicist need feel any hesitancy in making use of this classical digest. The thoroughness of this volume can be realized from the fact that Chapter I mentions no less than 54 recent books or articles pertaining to Greek literature; Chapter II, 155 on Latin literature; Chapter III, 117 on Greek history; Chapter IV, 273 on Roman history; Chapter V, 52 on Greek and Roman religion; Chapter VI, 94 on ancient philosophy; Chapter VII, 52 on papyri; Chapter VIII mentions excavations at Athens, Eleusis, Aegina, Boeotia and Phocis, Corinth, Perachora, Pellene, Elis, Thermus, Dodona, Cephallenia, Ithaca, Thessaly, Nea Anchialos, Florina, Dium, Olynthus, Philippi, Thasos, Lemnos, Mytilene, Crete, and Mallus; and the last chapter is just as complete in the archaeology of Italy as is the preceding one in the Greek field.

In a few cases where a work concerns more than one field it is referred to in each division, as, for example, a reference to J. Harward's *The Platonic Epistles* occurs on page 7 under Greek Literature and on page 79 under Ancient Philosophy. One is pleased to note that the two reviewers reach practically the same conclusion even though their interests differ. For the most part, however, a book or an article is reviewed only once.

For the busy reader the value of many of the chapters is further increased by dividing the field into subtopics. For example, we

find Latin Literature divided into General, Early, Augustan, and Post-Augustan.

A six-page index of classical authors and topics occurring among the reviews makes the volume still more convenient and usable.

In a few cases one might wish that the reviewer had not sacrificed so much to brevity. On the whole, however, the reviews are surprisingly clear and informational considering the very brief compass of most of them.

In these days of greatly increased teaching loads and greatly decreased salary checks, this periodical should prove a life saver to the classicist who will not permit the exigencies of these times to crush his soul. This annual volume should also prove a means for developing new interests in the classical studies or at least for watering and cultivating some almost forgotten seedlings of classical interest that may have sprouted during one's final years in college. For the classicist who cultivates his interests yearly by such a periodical *tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere exsistere*.

RUTH MARTIN BROWN

ILLINOIS COLLEGE

FREDERICK W. SHIPLEY, *Agrippa's Building Activities in Rome* (Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, No. 4.): St. Louis, Washington University Press (1933). Pp. 97. \$1.25.

In this paper Professor Shipley carries on the study begun in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* IX (1931), 9-44, in which he dealt with the building operations of the *Triumphales* exclusive of Augustus. The present study deals with Agrippa's construction of general public works, sewers, aqueducts, etc., and repairs on such works, his buildings in the Campus Martius in Region IX, public works in Region VII, and miscellaneous works in Regions VIII and XI. The study contains four excellent maps and plans, including one sketch map on page 69, of Agrippa's building activities as discussed throughout the work.

THOS. A. BRADY

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, 216 Park Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving centre and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Word Ancestry

In 1930 there appeared the first edition of *Word Ancestry* by Willis A. Ellis. The pamphlet, reprinted from the pages of the *Chicago Daily News*, contained stories of the origins of English words, written for high-school boys and girls. Recently an enlarged and revised edition has been made available. The new edition is rendered more serviceable by the addition of an index to every English derivative and every Latin or Greek word mentioned in the book.

Caesar Class Run on the Plan of a Roman Camp

Marjorie Brainard of Classen High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has a scheme to suggest for making real to a Caesar class the organization of a Roman camp: The teacher's desk is the *praetorium*, the aisle between the desk and the seats the *via principalis*, the front of the room the *forum*, the door of the room (according to its position) the *porta principalis, dextra* or *sinistra*, and the pupil's seat the *tabernaculum*.

The pupils, who comprise the *dux, legati, militum tribunus, centuriones* (one of whom is *primipilus*), *vigil, milites*, are quartered according to rank. Caesar's *Commentaries*, which the pupils are trying to conquer, may serve as *hostes* and the textbook as *sarcina*. The *milites* may go into *hiberna* for the year's work.

In case any may wish to carry the idea further into active cam-

paigning, Miss Brainard suggests a vocabulary test as a weekly skirmish or a three weeks' test as a siege. Rations may be distributed in the form of grades.

Topics for Papers in the Vergil Class

For those high-school teachers who wish suggestions for subject of term papers for use in their Vergil classes Jonah W. D. Skiles of the Louisville Public Schools, Louisville, Kentucky, offers the following. Those marked with an asterisk are more suitable for the first semester of the course:

*Vergil's Prosody; *Alliteration in the *Aeneid*; *Poetic Grammatical Constructions; Comparison of the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* with the Homeric Account; Comparison of Vergil's Conception of the Next World with the Biblical Conception; Vergil's Hell Compared with Milton's; *Onomatopoeia in the *Aeneid*; *Fate as Shown in the *Aeneid*; The Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* and Dante's *Divine Comedy*; *Omens in the *Aeneid*; The Conflict between Venus and Juno; *Dreams and Visions in the *Aeneid*; *Prayers and Their Answers in the *Aeneid*; *Prophecies and Oracles in the *Aeneid*; The Dido Episode in Opera; *Sacrifices in the *Aeneid*; Patronymics; *Personification Deities in the *Aeneid*; *Vergil's Use of Similes; *Figures of Speech in the *Aeneid*; *Figures of Rhetoric in the *Aeneid*; The Place of Women in the *Aeneid*; *Philosophy of Life in the *Aeneid*; *Vergil's Modernity; *Superstitions and Modern Parallels; *The Character of Aeneas; *Tardation in the *Aeneid*; Comparison of the *Aeneid* and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius; Comparison of the Games in the *Aeneid* with those in the *Odyssey*; *Love of Nature in the *Aeneid*; *Assonance in the *Aeneid*; *The "Accusative of Specification"; *The Greek Flavor of the *Aeneid*; *The *Aeneid* Compared with the Other Great Epics; Glorification of Augustus and Rome in the *Aeneid*; Three Great Heroines—Dido, Helen, and Medea; The *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*; The *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey*; *Carthage and the *Aeneid*; *Intercourse between the Gods and Men; *The Non-Vergilian Aeneas; *Comparison of *Aeneid* III and the *Odyssey*.

Mr. Skiles has found that papers on these subjects help to systematize some of the varied information the pupils have gathered in reading the *Aeneid*. They also give the pupils, once they have chosen their topics and have had suggested to them a *modus operandi*, an opportunity for some independent work. Mr. Skiles suggests that such papers be counted as 25 per cent of the final examination for the semester.

Latin Versus the Activity Program

In a great many cases, we believe, the attention of Latin teachers has been primarily absorbed by the rapidly changing panorama of ideas, procedures, and textbooks that has been taking place within their field since the Classical Investigation; and they have failed to grasp the significance of the equally sweeping changes that have been going on simultaneously throughout the whole educational structure and the influence that these inevitably have upon their own work. For the benefit of those who are aware of these latter changes but feel that they are coping inadequately with the manifestation of them in their own work, we excerpt certain paragraphs from an article by Mildred Dean of Roosevelt High School, Washington, D. C. This discussion might profitably have been published in full, but limitations of space prevent. Emphasizing, however, its function as an open forum for teachers (see CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIX, 405), the department of "Hints" will quote next month in like manner from an article on "The Teacher's Course" by H. W. Kamp of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas. It is hoped that these items will stimulate further contributions concerning ways in which the Latin teacher of today may grapple successfully with the changing foundations on which he or she has to build.

We quote from Miss Dean:

*Utrum in Foro an in Vacuo?*¹

It is time that we acquainted ourselves with the real meaning of the phrase "activity program" that is on the lips of teachers in the elementary schools, for the rapid spread of this program is materially altering the conditions of all high-school teaching and especially the bases of all foreign language teaching. . . . [To illustrate, here is] the practical working out of a sixth-grade semester's program. . . . In brief, the work of the class centred around the geography of the United States, beginning with the south. The children began by making scrapbooks for each of the sections studied; but, soon becoming interested in the boll weevil, they

¹ Read before the Classical Association of Pittsburgh, March, 1934.

composed songs and worked out a musical play wherein planters, cotton pickers, and weevils took part in choruses. Writing, spelling, and penmanship were practiced by writing a letter to the town in the south that had erected a monument to the boll weevil. The book for this section was illustrated with black prints and hand work. A rhythmic dance was designed for which costumes were made and specially dyed. In the same semester, when the New England states were studied, a story of Hawthorne was dramatized with costumes made for the occasion. Greek designs were used on these costumes because some Greek myths were read and enjoyed. . . .

This condensation shows us what type of work is carried on under the activity program. While we may be shocked at the absence of training for the children in reading, writing, and arithmetic and in other things that we have always considered fundamentals, we cannot fail to see that the teachers have adopted this program with a definite purpose to be accomplished, even if that involves the sacrifice of other values. They have aimed at qualities of character instead of training of the mind. It is not accident, not oversight, not negligence that has deprived us of the sturdy foundation of English grammar on which we used to build our Latin course fifteen years ago.

There is no grammar included in this sixth-grade course, nor in any of the elementary grades. The content of the language course of the seventh and eighth grades is in a transition stage, where it is doubtful what grammar is taught. In this connection we should recall the declaration of teachers of English made several years ago at one of their conventions, that enjoyment of reading and expression of ideas were to be the specific objectives of the English language work. They said that formal grammar belonged rather to foreign language study.

The result is that we Latin teachers are receiving into our classes an entirely grammarless generation. . . . When a boy does not use the accusative case in the proper place in the sentence, "The girl is carrying *water*," perhaps the teacher says, "What word governs *water*?" He has learned the word *govern* as applied to rulers of states, King George and the president. He does not think it ap-

plies to a word; he does not know what you mean. . . . He has to get a host of new words, each one with a new and complicated idea behind it. . . .

The question of memorizing, which has always been such a necessary part of our class progress in Latin, has also become a stumbling block in our way. . . . These pupils have never been taught to memorize. Worse still, they have been taught that it is not necessary to memorize, . . . they have been taught a real resistance to it as being a mistake in technique. The way to overcome this negative force must, of course, be settled by every eighth- and ninth-grade teacher herself in her own way with each separate class. Several successful junior high school teachers whose work I have watched and admired use the first weeks for so much translation of nominative, accusative, genitive, and present-tense forms, backwards and forwards from Latin into English and English into Latin, that the forms are gradually imprinted on the children's minds. . . .

Latin can never be easy, but it can easily be impossible; for it can be so unrelated to anything the children understand that they flee from it. When classes in the public schools fall below a certain minimum enrollment, they are disbanded. It is thus that while pursuing our accustomed way, inattentive to the conditions under which we must work, we are really eliminating our beloved language from the curriculum. . . .

In the good old days when Professor Bennett reigned, children who began Latin did not know what nation had talked the language they were about to study, but they did have an outline of world geography with the north safely located; and they could find Italy on the map of Europe and tell you where the Alps are. Today we can count on no single fact at all. Recently a test of four questions was given to the children entering one of the junior high schools of Washington. There was not one paper that made one hundred per cent; there was not one question that was answered correctly by everyone. The questions were:

1. What is the capital of the United States?
2. Beside what river is Washington situated?

3. What state is across the river from Washington?
4. After whom is our city named?

I cite this absurdly simple test to show that there is no fundamental piece of information owned by all the children we meet, on which we may count as a starting point.

Anyone who considers the activity program must accept its psychological and ethical basis as a consolation for its shortcomings in the matter of the facts it gives the children. It is certain that with more experience the elementary school teachers will use the activity program to better effect. . . . But it is very doubtful whether we shall ever again find any grammar basis on which to build our Latin course. We must plan our own foundation and build it as we teach. . . .

If we measure the conditions of our work carefully and plan intelligently, we can make our pupils so successful in their understanding of language and their ability to handle it that they will outstrip all other students conspicuously. This is already beginning to be the case. More than one English teacher in the senior high school has remarked to me lately, "The only ones that know any grammar and can handle sentences at all are the Latin students."

When we cling to our "standards," are we not clinging to the idea of so many forms memorized, so many rules ready to be recited, so many constructions ready to be explained within a given time? It is not the Latin language and its rugged beauty and nobility that we are defending but a certain scheme and organization of its machinery that we are conserving in the face of circumstances. . . .

As a matter of fact, when we take pains to make the early stages of Latin intelligible to our pupils, our enrollment increases steadily. The children crave the definiteness and exactness of Latin; they love to stretch their undeveloped facial and throat muscles on its fine large sounds; they enjoy "jumping" on the right syllable for accent; they see early in their study how much more simple Latin pronunciation is than English and how much more logical and unmistakable is its statement of ideas.

By ignoring our present situation and teaching as if it did not

exist we are corroborating everything derogatory that educators have said about us. Shall we not say to each other what Horace said to Lollius, *Ut te ipsum serves, non expergisceris?*

Latin Christmas Cards

Teachers who are looking about for special projects and have not thought of Christmas cards will welcome this suggestion from Marjorie Brainard of Classen High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. She writes that her pupils find a great deal of interest and pleasure in working out their ideas. On the last day before the holidays all the cards are put on display. They range from the very crude to the extremely artistic.

Each card must contain a Christmas greeting in Latin; it must be decorated with a picture showing Roman influence; the picture may be pasted on or drawn by hand; if the latter, the pupils may secure aid from the art department if necessary. A correspondence card is of a neat and convenient size for the purpose.

Suggested Pictures

Two Roman trumpeters holding their tubas, one shouting a Christmas greeting, the other a New Year greeting; A charioteer in his chariot bearing the season's greetings; A Roman ship (just as now we make so much of the ship design); The two-headed god, Janus; The messenger god, Mercury; The trumpet amid festoons or the cornucopia; The Latin scroll; The Roman lamp with its fumes forming the words of greeting.

Suggested Latin Greetings

Io Saturnalia; Hilare Festum Nativitatis Christi tibi et Felicem Annum Novom opto; Fortuna tecum sit per annum novom; Beatum Annum Novom tibi ominor; Omina Optima Christi Festo Natali et Felici Anno Novo; Habeatis prosperam valetudinem, amici boni, et hilaritatem per annum novom.

Latin Newspapers

The editor of this department wishes to acknowledge all the Latin newspapers and magazines that have been submitted since a request was made for information concerning them in April. It was intended to publish a list of them in this issue. However, as some are still being received, it seems wise to postpone the publication of this list until the November issue.

This Little Pig Went to Market

More than fifty requests for the Latin version of the words of this song have been received. There are still a few copies left which may be had by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to this department.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Winfred George Leutner

Winfred George Leutner, formerly Professor of Latin and Greek in Western Reserve University and latterly Dean of University Administration, was on June 12, 1934, elected and on June 13, in a simple but impressive ceremony, inaugurated as the eighth president of Western Reserve University and its affiliated colleges.

Professor Leutner taught Latin and Greek for twenty years and continues his interest in the classics and his belief in their educational importance.

Cleveland, Ohio

May 2-5, 1934, the University Players, student dramatic organization of Western Reserve University, presented in the translation of Clarence P. Bill the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus under the direction of Nadine Miles and Barclay Leathem of the university's department of speech. Costumes, scenery, and music were all supplied by the students, and the intention of the whole production was avowedly to convey the thought of Plautus in such a way as to make it thoroughly understandable to a modern audience.

American Classical League

The fourteenth annual meeting of the American Classical League was held at the Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C., on July 3, 1934. The following papers were read: "The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers" by Frances E. Sabin; "The Horatian Celebration" by Roy C. Flickinger; "Realism in

Latin Teaching" by Mark E. Hutchinson, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa; "Latin and the Rising Generation: A Solution" by Helen Ellis Kopsch, Langley Junior High School, Washington, D.C.; "Caesar in American Schools Prior to 1860" by Evion Owen, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec. A wealth of material interesting to teachers of the classics in secondary schools was on display in the Exhibit Hall of the Washington Auditorium under the supervision of members of the staff of the Service Bureau. Professors Carr and Tanner were reelected President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively of the League. B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago replaces Frank J. Miller as a Vice President, and C. C. Mierow, Colorado and Carleton Colleges, replaces Susan M. Dorsey. In other respects membership on the Council of the League remains unchanged.

Charles Christopher Mierow

Charles Christopher Mierow, who has been for the past eighteen years Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures at Colorado College and since 1923 President of the College, resigned his administrative office last May.

During the academic year 1934-35 Dr. Mierow will continue in the service of Colorado College as Research Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures *in absentia*. He has also accepted a call to the chair of Biography at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, and by permission of both institutions will hold the two positions simultaneously.

The first chair of Biography to be established in America was founded at Carleton College in 1920 by Ambrose White Vernon. In 1925 Professor Vernon accepted a call to a similar chair at Dartmouth. The purpose of the Department of Biography from the first has been to foster the study of great men in a free humanistic manner.

President Mierow received from Colorado College on June 13, 1934, the honorary degree of Doctor of Education, in recognition of his eleven years of administrative work as dean, acting president, and president.

University of Nebraska

By a testamentary gift of the late Grove E. Barber, president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in 1912-13, the Department of the Classics of the University of Nebraska is enabled to offer an annual prize of approximately one hundred dollars. The award will be made on the basis of a competitive examination to students resident in the university who have completed not less than four, nor more than five, years of study of the classical languages, secondary school courses included.

The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers

Friends of the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers will be interested to know that in spite of the depression over three hundred dollars were

added to the funds of the Bureau during the summer from cash sales and from payment of bills and membership fees. Notwithstanding the fact that schools were closed and teachers as a rule away on vacations, the list of orders to be sent out early in September grew longer than had been expected, and the number of visitors examining the Bureau's resources for their aid was gratifying. Prospects for the coming year are heightened by the fact that the same loyal office force will be at hand in spite of reduced salaries and that the collaboration with the New York City teachers described in the April and May issues of *Latin Notes*, which proved highly successful last year, will be continued.

The Bureau is constantly adding to its collection of pictures for use in the Trans-Lux lantern accompanying talks on the background of Latin for the high-school pupils of New York City and vicinity. Admission will be granted upon the request of their teachers. Further, instructors in English and in Ancient History may profit by several of these talks, notably those dealing with the origin of English words as well as other connections between that language and Latin and with the life of the Romans. A list of topics may be had upon request.

Readers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* are earnestly requested to foster membership in the League and to contribute material for the Bureau's files and suggestions intended to increase the Bureau's capacity to serve classical teachers.

Saint Paul, Minnesota

Combining interest in Greek life and art with the modern desire for world peace, the classical department of the College of Saint Catherine, on April 10, presented *The Trojan Women* of Euripides, the first known drama against war. Gilbert Murray's translation was used. Simplicity of staging and costuming was emphasized to give first importance to the beauty of the lines and the tragedy of the dramatic situation. The students themselves designed the costumes and modeled them as far as possible after authentic Greek sources.

The Ohio Classical Conference

The annual meeting of this Conference will be held October 25-27, 1934, at Newark, Ohio, at the same time as the various District meetings of the Ohio Education Association, with which the Conference is affiliated.

The terms of this affiliation allow every Latin teacher in Ohio the choice of attendance either at the District meeting or at the Conference. The Executive Board of the Central Ohio Teachers' Association has courteously omitted its Latin section meeting, in recognition of the fact that the Conference meets this year in C.O.T.A. territory.

Among other speakers at the Conference will be Superintendent C. V.

Courter of Dayton, President of the C.O.T.A., who speaks on "Cultural Subjects in the New Curriculum"; Professor Carl W. Blegen of the University of Cincinnati, "The University of Cincinnati Excavations at Troy"; Dr. H. C. Shetrone, Director of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, "Mounds and Their Builders"; Rev. R. E. Manning, S. J., of Xavier University, "Apotheosis at Rome"; and Director E. B. de Sauzé of Cleveland, "The Training of a Teacher of Latin."

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- AESCHYLUS, *Persai*, An Edition of the Play Shortened for Use as an Elementary Textbook, With Introduction, Notes, Maps, and a Vocabulary, by H. Pitman (Elementary Classics): London, Macmillan and Co. (1934). Pp. 107. 2s.
- AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, *American Excavations in the Athenian Agora*, Third Report (Hesperia, Vol. III, No. 1): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1934). Pp. 128. \$1.
- BARBU, NICOLAE I., *Les Procédés de la Peinture des Caractères et la Vérité Historique dans les Biographies de Plutarque*. Thèse pour le Doctorat ès Lettres, Université de Strasbourg: Paris, Librairie Nizet et Bastard (1933). Pp. vi+245.
- BARBU, NICOLAE I., *Les Sources et l'Originalité d'Appien dans le Deuxième Livre des Guerres Civiles*. Thèse Complémentaire pour le Doctorat ès Lettres, Université de Strasbourg: Paris, Librairie Nizet et Bastard (1933). Pp. iv+102.
- BARRETT, WILLIAM SPENCER, *A Translation of Congreve's 'Mourning Bride,' Act II, Scene iii—Scene vii, 38* (Gaisford Prize for Greek Verse, 1934): Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1934). Pp. 13. 2s. 6d.
- BERRY, LILLIAN G., *Vade Mecum*, A Manual to Accompany Latin—Second Year (Climax Series): New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1933). Pp. 128. \$0.56.
- BRITISH MUSEUM, DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS, *Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible*: London, British Museum (1934). Pp. 12. 6s.
- BRITTAIN, FRED, *Latin in Church*, Episodes in the History of Its Pronunciation, Particularly in England: Cambridge, Eng., University Press; New York, Macmillan Co. (1934). Pp. 70. 3s. 6d.; \$1.25.
- BULFINCH, THOMAS, *Mythology, The Age of Fable, The Age of Chivalry, Legends of Charlemagne* (Modern Library Giants): New York, Modern Library (1934). Pp. 789. \$1.
- CHILDE, VERA G., *New Light on the Most Ancient East, The Oriental Prelude to European Pre-History*: London, George Routledge and Sons (1934). Pp. 345. 15s.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

- CONWAY, ROBERT S., JOHNSON, S. E., and WHATMOUGH, JOSHUA, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, 3 vols.: London, Oxford University Press; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1934). Pp. xvi+459, xxxi+632, viii+163. 84s.; \$17.50.
- CORNFORTH, JOHN W., and EDGINGTON, G. E., *First Latin Exercise Book*: Sydney, Australia, Angus and Robertson (1934). Pp. 262. 3s. 6d.
- DEBEVOISE, NEILSON C., *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. xxxii): Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1934). Pp. xiv+132+14 plates. \$3.
- GUMMERE, JOHN F., *Neuter Plural in Vergil* (Language Dissertations, No. 17): Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America (1934). Pp. 55. \$1.
- HERODOTUS, *Histories*, Translated by George Rawlinson, Edited by Manuel Komroff: New York, Tudor Publishing Co. (1934). Pp. 544+12. \$1.45.
- HOLMES, A. T. G., *Carmen Latinum* (Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse Composition, 1934): Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1934). Pp. 11. 2s.
- JAEGER, WERNER, *Aristotle, Fundamentals of the History of His Development*, Translated by Richard Robinson: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. 410. \$6.
- LACTANTIUS, LUCIUS CAECILIUS FERMIANUS (supposed author), *De Ave Phoenice*, With Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary by Mary C. FitzPatrick. Thesis: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania (1933). Pp. 98.
- LAVELL, CECIL F., *Biography of the Greek People*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1934). Pp. xii+297. \$3.
- LUCAS, FRANK L., and LUCAS, PRUDENCE D., *From Olympus to the Styx*: London, Cassell and Co. (1934). Pp. 363. 12s. 6d.
- MAGOFFIN, RALPH V. D., and DUNCALF, FREDERIC, *Ancient and Medieval History, The Rise of Classical Culture and the Development of Medieval Civilization* (Becker-Duncalf-Magoffin History Series): New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1934). Pp. xviii+860+xvi. \$2.24.
- MERRITT, BENJAMIN DEAN, and WEST, ALLEN BROWN, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. xxxiii): Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1934). Pp. xiv+112, with 2 plates and 17 figures. \$2.50.
- MOMIGLIANO, ARNALDO, *Claudius, The Emperor and His Achievement*, Translated by W. D. Hogarth: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1934). Pp. xvi+125. 6s.; \$2.25.